

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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ART. I.—1. *India Tracts.* BY JOHN ZEPHANIAH HOLWELL,
ESQ., F. R. S., and FRIENDS. 1774.

2. *Unpublished Family Papers, MSS.*

THE comparative tranquillity of Bengal under the British Rule during the few years following Lord Clive's retirement to England, has served to disrobe the period of any very deep interest whereby it would have remained familiar to the Anglo-Indian reader.

Lord Clive's administration had terminated with his suppression of the conspiracy which he found ready to break out among his European officers. Double batta which had made a captain's pay amount to little less than one thousand pounds per annum was to be abolished, and the unwilling sufferers, forgetful of their allegiance, resolved to resist the measure. Frequent consultations were held amongst the officers, and a voluminous correspondence established between the three brigades into which the whole army had been divided, and the usual vows of unanimity and mutual confidence made, and sworn to. And if any individual member of their secret compact should chance to betray himself, or be betrayed, and whom the inevitable court martial would rigorously condemn, his co-conspirators were to preserve his life by force. Nor was this all. Each officer entered into a bond to resign his commission under a penalty of five hundred pounds, and to prevent the movement wearing a forlorn aspect, the sum of eighteen thousand pounds was subscribed for the unfortunates who should not be restored, each officer contributing according to his respective rank.

But the measures Lord Clive resorted to were potent enough to quell the impending disturbances without much remonstrance and without any bloodshed. Several of the ringleaders were subjected to the anticipated court martial, and as a natural consequence dismissed the service. Amongst them was General Fletcher, but his dismissal appears to have been a mere farce, for in a short time afterwards his rank was restored,

and his numerous influential friends at home, and his "political intrigue," obtained for him the command of the forces in the Presidency of Madras.

Succeeding this last public act of Lord Clive's came the peremptory orders from the Court of Directors that the Trading Company which Clive had organized for the monopoly of salt, betel nut, and tobacco, should be dissolved. These orders were but the repetitions of former ones which the Governor had received with silence and disregard, much to the annoyance of the Directors; but Clive was intent upon his scheme of reform, the prohibition of presents, and the better remuneration of the civil servants, and he looked to the trade monopoly to affect it. He was overruled however, and on the 20th of January 1767 the curtain fell which had been held up for so many years while the Shropshire school boy worked out his ambitious purpose through countless oppositions, but neglecting no opportunities until he realized the golden dreams of his youth, and found them like the fabled shadow in the stream.

He was succeeded by whom? It is because we have been astonished at the ignorance displayed of this period that we write this article. There is a void ranging from the date of Clive's resignation on January 20th 1767 to April 1772 when Warren Hastings became Governor General, which the majority of Anglo-Indian residents and readers do not account for. The Council on the first mentioned date consisted of Messrs. H. Verelst, Cartier, R. Becher, and A. Campbell, and Mr. Harry Verelst was elected Lord Clive's successor.

This gentleman was a grandson of Simon Verelst the eminent Flower painter, many of whose works are still to be seen at Hampton Court.*

And as the artist from a long and successful life amassed a considerable fortune, he was enabled to place his sons in a position which suited his singularly inordinate ambition. Harry

* Simon was a man of considerable eccentricity, great independence of spirit and an unbounded pride of his art. One day the Duke of Marlborough paid a visit to the artist's studio, for Simon was as famous in his flowers as his brother foreigner Vandyke was in his portraits. The Duke was exceedingly offended to find the artist receive him on apparent terms of equality, and remain with his head covered by his scull cap, so after one or two significant glances, which had no effect, the illustrious soldier who had won Blenheim and Woodstock, the one from the Franco-Bavarians, the other from his grateful Queen Anne—broke out in a burst of passion, demanding from the artist immediate amends—"who are you that you stand in the presence of a Duke uncovered?"

The artist removed the offending cap, and, lifting his eyes heavenward, exclaimed

"The King makes the Duke, but God makes the painter?"

Verelst, the future Governor of Bengal, inherited to a great extent the ambitious sentiments of his father, but chose India in preference to his native land as the arena in which he would exercise his talents and gifts, and at a comparatively early age set sail for Calcutta.

Upon his arrival here he found the jealousy of the French East India Company swollen into such an ungovernable state that they had already made preparations for war with the English and chosen the gallant Admiral Labourdonnais as their commander.

There was nothing in the external state of things to endorse the bright and sanguine expectations of young Verelst, and he thought seriously of abandoning the country which he had so hastily adopted, but with a true British character the failure of his own countrymen only served as an inducement for him to adhere unswervingly to the post to which the Company had appointed him. The charms of the appointment itself were nil, and but for his private property he would have been unable to live even respectably. The time had not come when Clive could or did, from the profits of the monopolized salt trade—draw as his Colonel's portion £7,000 per annum, and when the members of Council, Field officers, chiefs of Factories and Chaplains, &c., obtained proportionately exorbitant amounts. The Pactolian days of *reform* were in the womb of the future.

It was impossible for young Verelst to foretell the issue of the French demonstration, for, in the moment of greatest need the English Squadron lost its commander Captain Barnet, and one of the few cowards England has ever produced was appointed in his place. Captain Peyton after several inexplicable manœuvres in the Southern Sea beat a shameful retreat to the Bay of Bengal, abandoning Madras which was then in a state of lamentable exposure and helplessness, the result of which was that Labourdonnais, whose bravery was as marked as Peyton's cowardice, made immediate preparations for an attack upon that Settlement. The paltry garrison did its best but in a few days the French Flag was waving in the Presidency. Then came a strong reinforcement, and Labourdonnais who had tasted victory thirsted for more. He put to sea with the full determination of driving the English out of India. *Afflavit Deus et dissipantur*, as Queen Elizabeth mottoed her medals. The French Admiral's Squadron met with conflicting elements similar to those which tore the invincible Armada in shreds off the lonely Orkneys.

It occurred to Verelst's mind at this juncture that the military sphere was the one most likely to produce for him the results

which he yearned for so unceasingly. His greed assumed no tangible form, power and wealth which had tickled the ears of

"Gentlemen in England then abed"

were the sum and substance of his hopes, but whether to reach the Council and there stop contentedly, or to advance still further even into the good favors of the Great Mogul and become a first Omrah, with an immense title but "not worth sixpence," as Lord Clive termed it, was not resolved upon by the young aspirant. He had not shuffled off the love of romance which so seldom does any thing more than retard or wholly impede strong efforts, and the wonderful gallantry of Labourdonnais* being noised about, only served to increase his desire for distinguishment. Every Englishman spoke well of the French Admiral, and to brave such a foe was, in Verelst's mind, an incentive to battle.

Nevertheless he still adhered to his post, looking with amazement upon the unaccountable failures and blunders of his countrymen.

The overthrow of the French armament seemed to be a seasonable opportunity for the English retracing their steps, and if not regaining Madras, at least regaining their character, but it was not so; the strong reinforcement which arrived from England under the command of Admiral Boscawen, achieved no purpose, and the officer who had distinguished himself at Porto Bello and Carthagera, at Cape Finisterre and North America (against the French) who reduced Louisbourg and Cape Breton, who pursued the Toulon Fleet under De la Clue through the Straits of Gibraltar, and seized it in Lagos Bay, who received the thanks of Parliament and a grant of £3,000 a year—was opposed and repulsed at Pondicherry after a heavy loss of stores and men. The besiegers had cut their trenches out of reach of the enemy's line, and consequently the presence of Admiral Boscawen on the coast was utterly useless, and the ultimate end of the unfortunate expedition was, that several ships and about twelve hundred seamen perished in a storm on the coast of Coromandel.

It was no easy task for a young man of an ardent temperament to read the signs of those times. The English had cast off their acknowledgment of the parole under which Labourdonnais had placed them at Madras, on the plea that the exasperating conduct of Dupleix—Governor in the Indian Presidency—warranted their doing so. Labourdonnais, disgusted at his

* This admirable soldier being afterwards made a prisoner by the English was liberated merely on his parole, but he afterwards became an inmate of the Bastille and fell a prey to the mental and physical diseases which he there contracted.

countryman's conduct, looked on in silence, while Clive, then at Madras, made his escape in the disguise of a Mussulman, much to the future sorrow of the Nabob of Arcot and the subtle Dupleix. The fugitive took refuge, with others at Fort St. David, a few miles south of Pondicherry commencing his military life which was to become so conspicuous—as an ensign in a small force commanded by Major Lawrence, and at once became famous for the soldier-like qualities which distinguished him through life. A friend of his in the civil service, of the name of Haliburton, who “had devoted himself to making good soldiers of the disorderly band of peons who were in Fort St. George* when it was taken by the French, and became a lieutenant for the object, was murdered on parade by a sepoy, and the murderer was instantly cut to pieces by his comrades,” Clive seems to have been deeply affected by the event, for he declared in after years that his success in securing the fidelity of the sepoy was owing to his care “to entwine his laurels round the opinions and prejudices of the natives.”

After Pondicherry came the peace of Aix la Chapelle, and although it had succeeded in quelling the war which had been carried on between Louis Quatorze and Philip IV. and settling the vexatious argument of *jus devolutionis* with the gentlemen of Brabant and Namur the first time, nor failed in Verelst's day in terminating the Austrian war of succession, or gaining the pragmatic sanction for the Hanoverian succession at home, it did little service in India, not even enough to quench the spirit of belligerence.

Following in quick succession came the Tanjore difficulties. The illegitimate Pertaup Sing had usurped the throne of Sahu-gee, and, what is unusual in such cases, maintained his power tranquilly for several years until the smouldering ashes in the heart of the dethroned monarch leapt once more into a flame, and he came forward again with a claim to his kingdom, and

* The Fort St. George was a mere enclosure within a thin wall, with four bastions and four batteries for defence, and containing about fifty houses, with the warehouses and two churches. The other divisions of the town were almost undefended. There were only 300 Europeans, of whom two-thirds were the garrison, and the remaining 100 as yet by no means warlike. The place was bombarded; and during that time the besieged made offers of ransom; but Labourdonnais wanted to show all India the spectacle of French colours flying from the richest of the English settlements; and he proposed to be satisfied with a moderate ransom, and to restore the settlement to the English, if they would yield up the place for a time. He was received into the town without the loss of a man. Only four or five were killed on the English side, and two or three houses destroyed.—*Harriet Martineau.*

with the offer of a worthless Fort at Devicottah induced more than a hundred Europeans and five times that number of sepoy to help him in his designs. If a failure can be complete, theirs was such, for Captain Cope who went with Sahujee was looked upon as disgraced, and a second expedition was organized to retrieve his reputation. That was the year 1749:—a great year for India and for Verelst. He was to meet a young man whose position hitherto had not been equal to his own, but whose future was destined to be much brighter. Ensign Clive emerged from his duels with gamblers and responsibility in brawls, to take his Lieutenantancy and go out with Major Lawrence's expedition, albeit he had been one of Cope's unsuccessful party. The issue of the second attack was more in unison with the nation who made it, and young Clive begged for and won the honor of leading the forlorn hope. He was nearly swept away by a Cavalry charge as he advanced to the bottom of the breach, and thirty out of the thirty-four Europeans who accompanied him, fell. But one of that four, in soldier's clothes and with a disguised name, second only to his brave companion who led the small band, inciting on the sepoy who were bold that day, and cheered by the sight of Lawrence's whole European battalion following quickly up in the rear, unconscious of the perilous position in which the platoon soon afterwards found itself—was Harry Verelst, who in the fervour of his quenchless hope for distinction had thrown off the character of Civilian and become a fearless and valuable Volunteer in the Corps of which the boy Clive was one.

Flushed with half realized desires, young Verelst saw through the smoke, and din, and carnage of the marshy slopes of Tanjore, a road, royal too it seemed, to the undefined heights of his strange aspirations. He detected in his fellow soldier Clive, promises of conspicuous services, nor were his suspicions shaken when he saw Major Lawrence ask advice and counsel—and what is more—take it, from the future hero of Plassey.

Harry Verelst was however compelled to return to his old duties and resign the sword for the pen. It no doubt was a struggle at first, but in working out the great scheme which was nearest his heart, he learnt to think no sacrifice of personal gratification a trial or an error. He was thus a silent looker on upon the affairs of the Carnatic, unable to do otherwise than admire the distinguished bravery and acuteness of the French Military and Civil authorities. Dupleix was a wonder and a study for him; D. Auteuil was the same. The former had given both a "Nizam to the Deccan, and a Nabob to the Carnatic, and he lost no time in extracting from the circumstances glory to France,—and to himself and his brother

‘ officer's enormous profit. The new Nizam and Nabob paid him a visit at Pondicherry, where he entertained them with more than oriental pomp and was honored by them as their benefactor. He was declared Governor, under the Souhbadar, of all India from the Krishna to Cape Comorin. Authority was given to him above that of Chunda Sahib, and he was appointed to the high honor of being Commander of seven thousand horse. The only Mint henceforth permitted in the Carnatic was to be at Pondicherry. Of the treasures which the Viceroys of the Deccan had accumulated, a large portion was transferred to the coffers of France ; and Dupleix received, as his own share, two hundred thousand pounds in coined money, besides jewels and robes of silk and tissue of inestimable value. In fact there seemed to be no limit to his gains. He was the absolute ruler of thirty millions of people. No favors could be procured from the Government except at his request ; no access could be obtained, by petition or otherwise, to the Nizam unless through his intercession.”

Could all this be real,—was a question Verelst repeatedly asked himself as he read the stories over, in his dusky room in Writers' Buildings. Dupleix was surely of preternatural stature, and the exploits of Charlemagne were nothing to the victories with which Verelst's too heated brain was bedazzled.*

In the midst of all this, Clive became a Captain and in the importance which now began to hedge him in, in its small divinity, he *persuaded* the Presidency to do certain acts which pleased the young soldier's fancy. He asked for Arcot the capital of Chunda Sahib, and straightway came Europeans and sepoy, and five Field pieces. That day at Arcot was perhaps the dreariest one upon which a battle was ever fought. But, the invisible artillery of the heavens, the incessant blue streaks of deadly fluid shooting athwart the sky, the deluge of rain, the darkness, the awful gathering of several hundreds of human beings met under the clouded canopy of nature, intent on mortal conflict, were

* “When Clive marched back with his victorious army towards Fort St. David, he passed a Town which Dupleix in the pride of his first successes had founded and called after his own name. It was built round about a monumental column, the four fronts of which were designed to sustain tablets on which in four different languages, the exploits of the founder of the French empire in the East were about to be inscribed. Clive justly regarding this as much more than a display of mere personal vanity, caused both town and column to be levelled with the earth. He knew too well the susceptible nature of the Indian temperament not to perceive that such a memorial was as likely to bind the native princes to French interests as victory itself ; and he resolved that they should never have it in their power to say that an English General and his army saw, yet passed it by untouched.”—*Gleig's Life of Clive*.

turned by Clive to his own account and benefit, and the British standard soon floated above the citadel. Clive's force was then about two hundred and fifty men, and no sooner had he taken the Town than the enemy, reassured by fresh reinforcements, rallied their strength, and returned with seven thousand troops officered to some extent by Frenchmen, and endeavoured to regain the place. The siege, which lasted fifty days, is not excelled in British bravery by any other on record. The enemy retired, followed by Clive who then received reinforcements, and during the pursuit the English recovered Conjeveram which had been garrisoned by the French.

As our thoughts and actions are invariably shaped by the individuals around us, and impregnated with the same atmosphere, so the moulding which Verelst was receiving was as promising as even he could have wished in his own most sanguine moods.

The limits and purposes of this Article forbid us touching even upon the most important events of the next few years. The unparalleled extravagances of Dupleix aroused at last the interference of his own countrymen, and the great flood of sunshine in which he had walked for years, while it played around his brow like a halo, faded away as quickly as it had burst into existence, and Dupleix followed his monumental Town into oblivion.

During this period Verelst became intimately acquainted with Mr. Holwell* a Company's servant who held a high appointment and who before long was to enter the Council. He and Verelst saw with mutual fears and suspicions the unwise election of Aliverdi's grand-nephew to succeed his Uncle as Viceroy, under the title of Suraj-ud-Dowlah. Though very young the grand nephew had already abandoned himself to all the vices of his time, and his unfitness to rule Bengal was only equalled by his ungovernable hatred of the English. He commenced his tyrannous reign by depriving his relatives of all the wealth which they had amassed during his Uncle's administration, and drove the latter's finance minister to Calcutta. Under the pretext of indignation at the English refusing to send the fugitive back, Suraj-ud-Dowlah resolved to march against the Town. There was every inducement for a man of his irresistible avarice to take this step, for

* John Zephaniah Holwell was born at Dublin in 1711. He was educated for the medical profession. He elected however a different line of life, and came out to India in 1732 as a clerk in the service of the East India Company. Mr. Holwell was not a person of brilliant genius or fine accomplishments, but he was a valuable public officer and was greatly esteemed by all who knew him well, either in public or private life, and by all who knew how to appreciate a masculine and generous nature.—*Major D. L. Richardson.*

fabulous rumours of wealth in Calcutta continually reached his ears.

His demands were preposterous, and naturally being refused, he prepared an attack, and put it into execution. His task was more difficult than he had imagined and he was twice repulsed with great slaughter. But the Fort did not contain powder enough for three days and the third attack was successful.

Roger Drake the younger, then Governor, in a moment of deep self-scrutiny discovered that he was a Quaker and must take no part in the unjust horrors of war; acting up to the tenets of his peaceful persuasion, he beat a hasty retreat with the ladies,—who had taken refuge in the Fort,—and took possession of one of the ships. It was the metallic maxim of “every man for himself,” and Roger Drake was delirious with alarm. One hundred and forty-six persons were left behind, so precipitate was his retreat, and their expectations of mercy or even humane treatment were very small. Three days previous to Mr. Drake’s discovery, Mr. Holwell had sent for his friend Verelst, and advised him to remain at the Fort. He took the advice, and on the afternoon of the 20th June 1756 the two friends found themselves, with the others of the captives, on a melancholy march to the Black Hole.

It was not a Hole nor was it black. Many a Bishop’s son has slept away a night’s loss of liberty in a drearier apartment. The only objection to it was that it could not hold a hundred and forty-six people without a disastrous loss of life. It was not probable that Mr. Verelst who passed the night there would ever forget the likeness of his prison house, and he described it to his relatives as an ordinary “round-house” twenty feet in diameter with *several* small openings for ventilation. But had it been roofless the results would in all probability have been the same. The victims were crushed in at the point of the bayonet. When night fell, as well it might upon that scene of misery, the dense heat and poisonous effluvia drove many of the prisoners mad, and they died screaming with agony, and for very want of space, the corpses could not sink to the ground.* There was little hope for the mercy

* In Major D. L. Richardson’s admirable little work published by him on the morning of the first centennial commemoration of the “Black Hole” calamities, and eulogised by Macaulay, he says.—“The pestilential steam and stench from both the dead and the living, became now so overpowering that when Mr. Holwell turned his face for an instant from the window he felt his only chance of life was in maintaining his post there. But his position, though much envied by some of his fellow sufferers, was attended with extreme discomfort. For several hours he sustained the

which the survivors begged frantically for, as the only living beings near them were the guard who had placed them in confinement. When the morning dawned upon that sickly crew, one hundred and twenty-three had travelled beyond the bar which separates life and death.

Judging from what we know of such extreme cases of suffering, we would scarcely expect a very impartial statement from any of the survivors of the "Black Hole" calamities, but Mr. Verelst, of whose character in this as in other estimable respects many men are yet to speak, always gave it as his opinion that Suraj-ud-Dowlah was comparatively innocent of this atrocious massacre. "His orders were, secure them for the night, and further directions could not be expected. The horrors of that imprisonment must be laid at the feet of his officers."

But we read that the "tyrant's behaviour to the few survivors when brought before him next day showed that he cared as little for the past as he experienced anxiety about the future. They were cast into more airy prisons, and fed upon grain and water. This done, he wrote a pompous letter to his nominal sovereign at Delhi, in which he boasted of having extirpated the English out of Bengal; and, leaving a garrison in Fort William with strict orders that no European should be permitted to settle in the neighbourhood, he gave up the town of Calcutta to plunder and marched back with the bulk of his forces to his own capital."*

weight of a heavy man who fixed his knees on his back. Another man had seated himself on his shoulder. He could not relieve himself entirely of either of his burdens, though he frequently dislodged the man on his shoulder by a sudden movement, and by driving his knuckles into his ribs. The man on his back was immovable, like that terrible incubus, the old man of the sea, on the back of Sinbad the Sailor. * * * * * Mr. Holwell kept his mouth moist by sucking the perspiration from his shirt sleeves, and caught at the large drops that now fell from his head and face like heavy rain. Mr. Lushington, one of the few survivors,—probably then without a shirt of his own—being one of those who had stripped themselves, said he owed his own life to his having robbed Mr. Holwell of a portion of his perspiration. By eleven o'clock about a third of the prisoners had been relieved by death. Many of the remainder became delirious. It was like a scene in Bedlam. They cursed both God and man; with blind presumption they called upon their Maker to behold the sufferings that he had put them to, and vehemently demanded instant death, as if it were an unquestionable right which was tyrannically and unjustly held from them. They did their utmost by vehement abuse to provoke the guards outside to put an end to their agonies, by firing through the bars. But these brutal wretches held up torches to the windows and laughed with inhuman merriment at their maniacal exclamations and contortions."

* Gleig's Life of Clive.

An argument certainly somewhat strained has been urged by Mr. Mill, he says, "some search was made for a convenient apartment, but none was found; upon which, information was obtained of a place which the English themselves had employed as a prison, and into this, without further enquiry, they were impelled. It unhappily was a small ill-aired and unwholesome dungeon called the "black hole," and the English had their own practice to thank, for suggesting it to the officers of the Subadar as a fit place of confinement."

The innocent Mr. Mill seems to have been oblivious to the laws of space, and to the fact that room for twenty, is scarcely sufficient for seven times that number in an Indian June with the thermometer in the coolest rooms at 85° to 90°. Leaving Calcutta in the hands of the natives we turn to Clive, and find him, as our readers know, organizing in unison with Admiral Watson a strong force intended for the recovery of the town, Clive and Watson being then at Madras, where Mr. Pigot the Governor gave them every assistance.

The expedition which they conjointly prepared sailed from Madras on the 16th of October, and on the 2nd of January 1757 after considerable delay and manœuvring which we need not enter more fully into, Calcutta became once more a British Settlement. But another strife, worse than any but for a timely check, arose in the English force. Admiral Watson was "His Majesty's" servant, Clive belonged merely to the Company. It was a distinction in which the Admiral recognized a difference, and he lost no opportunity to exalt his own superiority over his heroic rival. Clive saw and severely felt this. "Between friends," he observes in a letter to Mr. Pigot,* "I cannot help regretting that ever I undertook this expedition. The mortifications I have received from Mr. Watson and the gentlemen of the Squadron, in point of prerogative, are such, that nothing but the good of the service could induce me to submit to them. The morning the enemy quitted Calcutta, a party of our sepoys entered the fort at the same time with a detachment from the ships, and were ignominiously thrust out; upon coming near the fort myself, I was informed that there were orders that none of the Company's officers or troops should have entrance. This, I own, enraged me to such a degree, that I was resolved to enter if possible, which I did, though not, as maliciously reported, by forcing the sentries; for they suffered us to pass very patiently upon being informed who I was. At my entrance, Captain Coote presented me with a commission from Admiral Watson, appointing him

* Sir John Malcolm.

‘ Governor of Fort William, which I knew not a syllable of
‘ before; and it seems this dirty, under-hand contrivance was
‘ carried on in the most secret manner, under a pretence that
‘ I intended the same thing, which I declare, never entered my
‘ thoughts. This affair was compromised by the Admiral con-
‘ senting that I should be Governor, and that the Company’s
‘ troops should remain in the fort. The next day the Admiral
‘ delivered up the fort to the Company’s representatives in the
‘ King’s name.”

By 1757, Mr. Verelst had worked out one section of his ambitious project, and we find him become an important servant to Government, trusted and talked about, characterized by Clive as a gentleman upright, amiable, and intelligent, and one who had done the Company good service once more with his sword—for he alternated when he could between the desk and battle field and unsheathed his sword at the capture of Hooghly, and Chandernagore.* It was Clive’s opinion then that the latter victory was of more consequence to the Company than the taking of Pondicherry, it was considered a “magnificent and rich colony; the garrison consisted of more than five hundred Europeans and seven hundred blacks all carrying arms; three hundred and sixty were prisoners, and nearly one hundred had been suffered to give their parole.”

All these incidents were the component parts of the great mosaic known as Clive’s handiwork. The fact of his remaining at Chandernagore with his troops, led to the battle of Plassey, and Plassey to the ignominious death of the foolish tyrant Suraj-ud-Dowlah. It has taken one hundred years to obliterate the stain which sullied the glory of that Victory. For a Colonel to interpolate a duplicate deed was something so foreign to the British notions of right, that even the fact of his three thousand men pitched on the bank of the river to meet next morning sixty-eight thousand of a foe, was not potent enough to obscure it. Clive’s deeds in the field received a soldier’s best incentive and reward, the acclamations of his countrymen. They did not wonder that for the first time in his life Colonel

* Lord Clive had paid Verelst the highest compliments. “Remember me to him in the kindest manner” he says in a letter to Mr. Sykes,—“tell him the Company and myself have no other dependence but upon the justness of his and your principles.” Mr. Verelst was then supervisor of Burdwan and Midnapore, and in every circumstance of emergency Clive reposed his confidence in him and relied upon the help he received from him. He chose him in the negotiations at Patna, and when Mr. Sumner, acting for Clive during the latter’s absence from Calcutta, appeared to be working imprudently, Clive commissioned Mr. Verelst to hasten down from Burdwan and remonstrate with him on the weakness of his conduct.

Clive should call a council of war, and meditate retreat; nor did they fail to honor him when he banished his despair on that night at the river's side, when his spirits grew high, so high as to win the victory which inaugurated the English policy in Hindostan; but they did condemn him for the ignoble act which drove the greedy Omichund into a state of fatal idiocy. More than that Harry Verelst was at Plassey, we do not know, but we find that he was as ignorant of Omichund's treatment as the fleet camel which bore the defeated Soubahdar from the field.

We have hastily passed through those years to which Mr. Verelst owed all his experience, and upon which any future successes were based, and must stride rapidly on to the year 1767, without even a notice of 1763, which saw the ambitious Harry Verelst a member of Council. It was a case of self-help; he had no tangible influence in high places. His only grand friend, Clive, was an Omrah with a splendid jaghire of £30,000 per annum, but he was too much engrossed in the matters of his increasing empire to take much heed of the struggler whose grandfather had stood uncovered in the Royal presence; all he could afford to do was to take note of Verelst's worth and turn it to account at a future day. We doubt if the Hero of Assaye ever monopolized the adulation of Britain as much as the Hero of Plassey. We are told that "his name was in everybody's mouth at Court and everywhere else; and the most forward to load him with praise seems to have been George the Second himself. In the year 1758 when disaster attended all the military operations of England by land and sea, and the Duke of Cumberland was forced, by public opinion, to retire from the office of Commander-in-Chief, Lord Ligonier, who succeeded him, took occasion one day to ask the King's permission for the young Lord Dunmore to serve as a volunteer in the army of the King of Prussia. Leave was refused, upon which the Commander-in-Chief went on to say, "may he not join the Duke of Brunswick then?" "pshaw" replied the King "what can he get by attending the Duke of Brunswick. If he desire to learn the art of war, let him go to Clive." But higher renown befel him than this, when the illustrious Pitt spoke of him as "a heaven-born General,—as the only officer who by land or sea had sustained the reputation of the country and added to its glory." Then the young "writer" received his Irish peerage, and was chafed by its not being an English one, and he hesitated in accepting his Queen's offer when she proposed to stand Godmother for one of his children. He had gone to England to be lionized, and lionized he was. Cræsus was a mendicant to him. Fretful in his obscure boyhood, he was overbearing at thirty-four, and exorbitant

for the worship of the world. Homage was not paid to him so bulkily as he could have wished; it did not pour in as his lakhs had done, he saw around him jealousy and envy; even the Company's Directors stood ominously aloof from him. He cast them all into chancery because they coveted his rich jaghire, and then in the face of that outrage demanded the trinitarian appointment of Commander-in-Chief, President, and Governor of Bengal. The length, and breadth, and height of that Shropshire boy's ambition cannot be measured. His fights in the fairs of Market Drayton were all small Plasseys. He who had bestridden the dragon gurgoil of the church steeple, two hundred feet above his terrified spectators, simply to procure a certain smooth stone, maintained the allegory inviolate. He was on the gurgoil through his whole life. Can we marvel that he taxed the timid shopkeepers of Drayton in small pence and trifling articles, in compensation to himself and the little band he led for abstaining from breaking their windows? Was he not breaking larger windows all his life?

The year 1767 which witnessed Clive's return to England, when a feather in the scale of public opinion would have made him either a hero or charlatan, saw Harry Verelst fairly engaged upon the third section of his life. There was nobody to whom Lord Clive felt or evinced more attachment than to him who had worked boldly but silently at his side, and upon his retirement Harry Verelst became Governor of Bengal. Before Clive left, he administered to his friend and successor advice so sound and earnest, that there was no doubting the sincerity of either his friendship or his hopes of India. In a letter to Mr. Verelst he says, alluding to the Batta disputes—"There 'was a committee to each brigade sworn to secrecy, and I have it 'from undoubted authority, that the officers thought themselves 'so sure of carrying their point, that a motion was made and 'agreed to, that the Governor and Council should be directed 'to release them from their covenants. The next step would, 'I suppose, have been the turning me and the committee out of 'the service. In short I tremble with horror when I think 'how near the Company were to the brink of destruction. 'The plot hath been deeply laid, and of four months' standing. 'I can give a shrewd guess at the first promoters. One of them 'I have already mentioned to you, who will ere long, I hope, be 'brought to condign punishment. Remember again to act 'with the greatest spirit; and if the Civilians entertain the 'officers, dismiss them the service; and if the latter behave 'with insolence, or are refractory, make them all prisoners,

‘and confine them in the new Fort.* If you have any thing
 ‘to apprehend write me word, and I will come down in-
 ‘stantly, and bring with me the third brigade, whose officers
 ‘and men can be depended upon.” The following month he
 wrote to the same gentleman. “The spirit of civil as well as mi-
 ‘litary mutiny that has lately appeared in Calcutta, deserves so
 ‘much of our attention, as to mark the most turbulent, whe-
 ‘ther Company’s servants, or free merchants, and resolute-
 ‘ly send them to Europe, for Bengal never can be what it
 ‘ought to be, whilst licentiousness is suffered to trample upon
 ‘authority.”

Besides this advice which was not lost upon Mr. Verelst, Lord Clive sprinkled with the utmost pleasantness admonitions of a kind not likely to be treated with disregard. “I would strongly recommend you,” said he, “to remain in India until you have increased your fortune,” urging somewhat strangely that unless he did so, his friends at home, upon his return, would be disappointed and annoyed. Clive himself during his first eighteen months in England spent sixty thousand pounds. Why Verelst should keep aloof from the gold and be alone as an exception, was a question Clive was unable to answer.† India was Pactolian ground, albeit the treasury at Calcutta was so

* “The foundations of the new Fort were laid by Lord Clive in 1757, soon after the battle of Plassey. It cost two millions of pounds sterling. Some Military critics have objected to it that it is much too expensive to be easily defended by a small force, and that a force large enough to defend it could keep the field. It would require in war time to be garrisoned by 10,000 men. But then it is to be remembered that it could hold on an emergency all the Christian population of Calcutta, and sometimes unmilitary people, comparatively inefficient in the open field, may do good service under the protection of the ramparts.”—*Major D. L. Richardson.*

† Time has changed the customs and habits of the Europeans in India in various ways, and if large fortunes are yet to be acquired with comparative rapidity and ease, still the disappearance of that marvellous monopoly of a century ago has called for an energy and activity, for thew and sinew, which then had scarcely an existence. They of Verelst’s time engaged in commerce or in higher avocations were nothing more than a time-killing race of men, who diversified their slothful routine of life with excesses in wine—cooled not by ice but saltpetre—or poisoned themselves with the nauseating numdungus which their Hookah-Burdars palmed off upon them as the genuine leaf or Bilsah. But the Hookah at that period was seldom out of the hands of the Europeans, its use was as general as it was pernicious, and a servant, or sometimes two, were considered necessary, whose duty was to take charge of the pipe and prepare it whenever their masters required it. One hundred Rupees per month was not at all an unusual item attached to the smoking expenses.

And those were the days too of unrestrained Sutte when the infatuated Hindoo widows exceeded the wild fanaticism of the Crestonians of Herodotus, and followed while yet in the vigour of youth, and sometimes beau-

often empty. The French General Bussy, careful of his own interests as he was of those of his country, had gone back to France with an immense fortune, with which he dazzled a niece of the Duc de Choisel into wedlock. Dupleix had once been the richest of them all. Clive returned wealthy, and "Tory Harry" was not less poor. Mr. Scrafton says of the latter gentleman, "he goes about boasting of your Lordship's conversion, abuses Mr. Pitt, impeaching his patriotism and honor, because a private gentleman has left him an estate which he swears he has no right to,* and that the will should be set aside, for that the man who made it must have been *non com*; trumps up the Duchess of Marlborough's legacy, the Hanover Millstone, &c. &c., swears Lord Bute is the only man of merit, and tories the only true patriots." Mr. Pigot made a stately and triumphal march through a baronetcy to a peerage, and though he died unworthily in a prison house, had saved his forty lakhs. Mr. Vansittart was found lamenting his lot, having secured only three thousand pounds per annum, forgetting the deplorable state of the treasury while he was Governor, the threatened outbreak of the troops, and the intrigues and invasion. The presents of money and jewels, and in many cases land, made by the wealthier natives to the Europeans who were at all concerned in the administration of the country almost surpass belief.† They were great enough to have inspired Camoens when he sang of India in his *Lusiad*. Meer Jaffier's grant to Clive was the spontaneous impulse of a sentiment believed to be scarce in Orientals, he was grateful for his timely deliverance from the snares of Alumghir the second, and to the romantic extent of

ty—the husbands whose deaths were, from a melancholy custom, merely the herald of their own.

The prohibition of this revolting spectacle advanced the native population one generation in point of civilization.

* In addition to what he had before.

† Cowper has given us a severe view of India in two lines less than a sonnet

"Hast thou, though suckled at fair Freedom's breast,
Exported slavery to the conquered East?
Pulled down the Tyrants India served with dread,
And raised thyself, a greater, in their stead?
Gone thither armed and hungry; returned full
Fed from the richest veins of the Mogul,
A despot big with power obtained by wealth,
And that obtained by rapine and by stealth?
With Asiatic vices stored thy mind,
But left their virtues and thine own behind?
And, having trucked thy soul, brought home the fee
To tempt the poor to sell himself to thee?"

thirty thousand pounds sterling a year. Yet for all this Clive pronounced the system to be a "great evil," and he drew up a covenant for all the civil and military servants of the Company to sign, which would prohibit them from henceforth listening to these tangible blandishments of the native princes. When General Carnac was requested to write his name at the foot of the bonds he stood in a more awkward position than the reader can imagine. The emperor had offered him two lakhs of rupees, and he looked upon the gift with a kindly emotion, but after a little delay the authorities considered his case and allowed him to accept the gift, upon which decision the General signed the covenant with precipitate pleasure. These new covenants, says Mr. Verelst, a short while after, had excluded the receipt of presents; while the increased investment of the Company, after the Dewanny was obtained, absorbed the trade of individuals, and removed all prospect of advantage in a foreign commerce. No other fund remained for the reward of services, and without proposing a reasonable prospect of independent fortunes, it was ridiculous to hope that common virtue could withstand the allurements of daily temptation, or that men armed with power would abstain from the spoils of a prostrate nation.* But Lord Clive in his admirable minute considered a state of independence and honor must be highly eligible to a Governor, and in his opinion, it could only be acquired by cutting off all possibility of his benefitting himself either by trade, or that influence which his power necessarily gives him in the opulent provinces. Clive writes, "although by these means a Governor 'will not be able to amass a fortune of a million, or half a million, in the space of two or three years, yet he will acquire a very 'handsome independency, and be in that very situation which 'a man of nice honor and true zeal for the service would wish to 'possess. Thus situated he may defy all opposition in Council, 'he will have nothing to ask, nothing to propose but what he 'means for the advantage of his employers. He may defy the 'law, because there can be no foundation for a bill of discovery; 'and he may defy the obloquy of the world, because there can 'be nothing censurable in his conduct. In short if stability can 'be insured to such a Government as this, where riches have been 'acquired in abundance in a small space of time, by all ways and 'means, and by men with or without capacities, it must be effect-

* Sujah-ud-Dowlah wrote to Mr. Verelst on the 1st of August 1768, "I cannot express my thanks for the favor you have done me in putting and end to the English trade in my territories. May the Almighty long preserve you, for *I have still greater expectations from your friendship.*" The benediction is accounted for in a thoroughly Asiatic manner.

‘ed by a Governor thus restricted; and I shall think it an honor
‘if my proposal be approved, to set the first example.”

This proposal being approved by the Council, a deed between Lord Clive and the Company, correspondent with the oath, was executed and registered in the Mayor’s Court, by which the Governor bound himself to the faithful performance of every clause in the penal sum of £150,000 to be forfeited in case he should act contrary to that indenture; one-third to the informer, and two-thirds to the Company; recoverable upon proof given in the Court of Chancery, Exchequer, the Mayor’s Court at Calcutta, before the Court of Directors, or the Council of Bengal. We must now consider the memorable trading, the unparalleled monopoly, in salt, betel nut, and tobacco, to have vanished away, so far as the servants of the East Indian Company were concerned. On it they *had* fattened; untold thousands—for we do not wish to make this brief and imperfect sketch, a handbook to private incomes—had been drained from the fabulous profits of that bartering. We must also consider the singularly splendid career of Clive to have ended too. We will quote from one whose eloquent manly echo has not yet died out—and whose pen not only won a peerage for himself, but in its wonderful power, dispelled the obloquy which attached itself to Clive’s. Unbiased in any way, based only upon the laws of fairness and justice, mellowed in the spirit of comprehensive charity, Macaulay stood forth twenty years ago, and in the obscurity of an anonymous contribution to a Northern magazine, set the world a thinking, forced the people on its surface to sift the truth, and straightway there rose Phoenix-like from the ignoble gloom, the man Robert Clive, who, with all his faults and shortcomings, had incontestably raised British India to the foremost rank in the category of those dominions upon which the sun never sets. Macaulay cannot be too often quoted, when speaking of Clive, and “he says that when he landed in Calcutta in 1765 Bengal was regarded as a place to which Englishmen were sent only to get rich, by any means, in the shortest possible time. He first made dauntless and unsparing war on that gigantic system of oppression, extortion and corruption. In that war he manfully put to hazard his ease, his fame and his splendid fortune. The same sense of justice which forbids us to conceal or extenuate the faults of his earlier days compels us to admit that those faults were nobly repaired.

“If the reproach of the Company and of its servants has been
‘taken away, if in India the yoke of foreign masters, elsewhere
‘the heaviest of all yokes, has been found lighter than that of
‘any native dynasty, if to that gang of public robbers, which

‘formerly spread terror through the whole plain of Bengal, has
 ‘succeeded a body of functionaries not more highly distinguished
 ‘by ability and diligence than by integrity, disinterestedness,
 ‘and public spirit, if we now see such men as Munro, Elphinstone,
 ‘and Metcalfe, after leading victorious armies, after making and
 ‘deposing kings, return, proud of their honorable poverty, from
 ‘a land which once held out to every greedy factor the hope of
 ‘boundless wealth, the praise is in no small measure due to Clive.
 ‘His name stands high on the roll of conquerors. But it is
 ‘found in a better list, in the list of those who have done and
 ‘suffered much for the happiness of mankind. To the warrior,
 ‘history will assign a place in the same rank with Lucullus and
 ‘Trajan. Nor will she deny to the reformer a share of that
 ‘veneration with which France cherishes the memory of Turgot,
 ‘and with which the latest generations of Hindoos will contem-
 ‘plate the statue of Lord William Bentinck.”

Leaving Lord Clive that he may retire to England,—there to kiss the King’s hand, and become a Lieutenant over the proud Salopians, and in the same year the Lord Lieutenant of Montgomeryshire, we return to Mr. Harry Verelst, Lord Clive’s successor as the Governor of Bengal, and with some of the events of his administration will conclude this retrospect.

The anti-trading covenants had entirely changed the character of India. It was no longer one vast mercantile house, but had stepped into the dignity of a sovereign power. The head partners of the old firm had left the business to younger men as it were, contented with the sixteen anna share which had resulted from their toils. They did this, because they saw no more massive profits to be gained.

While the French and English were busy with their strifes in the Carnatic, Hyder Ali, one of the most talented of Asiatics though merely the son of a petty chief at Dinavelli, raised himself by steady degrees until he deposed the royal family and founded the Mahommedan kingdom of Mysore. In the year of Mr. Verelst’s accession the dominions of Hyder Ali contained 70,000 square miles, but his temperament was innately aggrarian, and he seemed only to reign that he might conduct never ending feuds with the English and Mahrattas. He was proud of his enmity with the former, as it gave him a distinction, but when he discovered the English were joining the Nizam by agreement, Hyder immediately veered round and entered into friendly conditions with the latter. His next move was to attack the English conjointly with his new and sudden ally, and Mr. Verelst found himself at the head of a people embroiled by the incessant annoyances of such attacks. These attacks were al-

ways followed by victories for the English when the real fighting began, and the Nizam commenced to think that he had surely chosen the weaker side, and his object was to be found with the winners. His suspicions being confirmed, he emerged from the difficulty in the simplest manner, by hastily breaking off all connection with Hyder Ali, and renewing his treaty with the Madras Presidency.

The Madras Government seeing then that the Nizam was wholly in its power, and that it might do anything it chose with Mysore, conferred the title of its sovereignty upon Mohammed Ali. Finding that Colonel Smith who then had chief command, had formed a correct estimate of this strange act of the Government, the Council recalled him, and in his stead appointed Colonel Wood, a man as unversed in Indian matters, as Smith was experienced.

This blind act was not kept secret from Hyder Ali, who immediately encountered Wood, and so signal was the defeat which the English had to endure that day, that not even the baggage was saved. By continued strategy which displayed Hyder's soldierly capabilities in a high degree, he succeeded in tempting his enemy away from the capital, and then made an extraordinary forced march upon the town, accomplishing the distance of one hundred and twenty miles in three days.

Placing himself in command of six thousand horse he appeared like an apparition, filling the town with fear and despair, upon Mount St. Thomas.

The effect was instantaneous, for, to save the city, peace was made with Hyder upon his own terms, "a mutual restitution of conquests, and a treaty of mutual alliance in defensive wars."

Hitherto the enemies of former Governors had invariably been troops in the battle field bent upon territorial aggrandizement, but a distinctively new one in the form of a single individual arose under Harry Verelst's rule, to the waste of his own wealth, and of his Governor's time.

This individual was a Mr. William Bolts, who was many years in the service of the Company of Bengal, was an Alderman or Judge of the Mayor's Court at Calcutta, and all along, a merchant. Mr. Bolts arrived in India about the year 1758 and we soon find him a principal figure among the group of traders. The extent to which this gentleman engaged, and the moderation with which he conducted himself, will be best known from his fortune of ninety thousand pounds gained within six years, together with the extreme eagerness with which he endeavoured upon all occasions, to degrade the authority of the Government, and prevent any effectual protection being given to the natives.

Among the private persons who usurped the office of their superiors Mr. Bolts was very early distinguished, who wrote in his own name to the Fouzdar of Purnea threatening the Nabob's officers with the effect of the English power. Mr. Vansittart observes, "of course every merchant will take the same authority," and very justly adds, that this entire levelling and equality will not be for the good of the Company's affairs.

To level all distinctions, to intimidate the Governor and Council, and, by clamour, to confine them within the strict letter of laws, calculated for a very different state of society, has ever been the constant object of those, who from motives of private interest, wished to abuse that influence which the name of Englishman was alone sufficient to confer.

Notwithstanding Mr. Bolts was reprimanded by order of the Court of Directors in the general letter to Bengal, received in July 1764; yet, in the year 1765, we find him exercising summary jurisdiction in his own cause, and confining a merchant for three days, whom, at length he was compelled to release. He was soon after this suspended from his appointment at Benares, but the trade of a country, yet unexhausted, was too lucrative to be easily relinquished. The November following, Mr. Bolts resigned his station in the service, and was about this time elected an Alderman and Judge of the Mayor's Court in Calcutta. Here therefore commences his furious zeal for reformation, and, in the beginning of the next year, he was actively engaged in the complaint against Nobokissen, which ended with little honour to the authors. The public concerns of Mr. Bolts never intruded upon his private cares, and infinite arts were tried to prevent a dismissal of his agents from the dominions of Surajah-Dowlah. The great distance from Calcutta gave to falsehood the weight of truth. Various rumours were therefore propagated, which Mr. Bolts endeavoured to support by his correspondence. At one time, Mr. Bolts was returning to Benares with the most extensive powers. At another time, these people were taken into Mr. Rumbold's service, and a letter was on the road from the Council, that none should be licensed as English Agents but themselves. While such arts were employed to influence the mind of the Nabob of Oude, the war upon the coast had drained the Treasury of Bengal, and the most alarming accounts were industriously spread of the instability of the Company's affairs. Allured by the tempting occasion, Surajah-Dowlah began to listen to the voice of ambition. Coja Rafael, for the sake of intelligence, was taken into his service, through the influence of Meer Mushallah (formerly physician to Meer Cossim, and, at this time, retained by the Nabob of Oude) who likewise corresponded with our pa-

triot at Calcutta. When the storm blew off, the dread of our power revived. Surajah-Dowlah, again regarding the English Agents as a source of contention, applied to our Commanding Officer at Allahabad, for their removal; and both parties being now equally sincere, it was soon effected.

That Mr. Bolts was a party to these practices cannot be doubted, when the reader is informed of a confidential letter written by that gentleman to Monsieur Gentil, a Frenchman, high in Surajah-Dowlah's confidence, in which he says, "I have written a letter to the Nabob, to whom I beg you will give my humble respects. There is arrived an English ship, and another French one. The affairs of our Company are in great agitation before the King and Parliament of England; and according to the letters I have received, there is great probability that my partner Mr. Johnstone will come out Governor on the part of the King."

Such was the conduct of Mr. Bolts and his Agents, which produced at length the removal of the latter from the territories of Oude; and after every other expedient had been tried to reclaim a man, who appeared determined to sacrifice all public duties to his own interested pursuits, and who had actually presented to the Grand Jury an information against the Governor, Council, and Commander-in-Chief, for endeavouring to restrain his pernicious practices. Mr. Bolts himself was sent to England. Instead of punishing Coja Gregory and Johannes Padre Rafael, at times his agents, as they deserved, such was the idle lenity of our Government, that they immediately received their liberty, and every assistance was offered to collect their effects, an assistance probably unnecessary, as they chose to depart for Europe.

That the measures of our Government were sufficiently vigorous and decisive upon this, as upon other occasions, it might be difficult to prove; but, when Mr. Bolts had been indulged with nearly two years, after his resignation of the service, to collect his effects; when the public authority had been employed, and letters written by the Governor to Bulwunt Sing, and the Nabob of Oude, requesting their assistance for the settlement of his affairs; it was surely no very ruinous oppression to send away that gentleman by force, whom the most solemn promises, repeatedly given, could not engage voluntarily to depart for Europe. The Governor and Council were indeed criminal. It was criminal for a moment to suffer the residence of a man, who, independent of other demerits, had corresponded with every rival, and every enemy of the Company; who had engaged with Mr. Vernet, the Dutch Governor, to monopolize the cloth trade of Dacca; who had scandalously evaded

the execution of covenants, which, as a servant of the Company, he was bound to subscribe; who had attempted one, and actually succeeded in seducing another, inferior servant, to betray his trust, in delivering papers out of the office; who had, from his first arrival in India, carried on a trade destructive to the peace of the country; who, in support of this trade, had threatened the officers of the Nabob, and had issued his proclamation in the style of a Sovereign; whose Agents, by their intrigues in the dominions of Surajah-Dowlah; and by false intelligence received from their master, had endangered the peace of India. To suffer such a man in Bengal, was surely criminal enough.

The unfortunate victim who sat on Mr. Holwell's shoulders during the night of the "Black Hole" could not have been a greater infliction to his supporter than this Mr. Bolts was to Mr. Verelst, the members of Council, and the Company itself. It would be false charity to designate his actions mere eccentricities, though such some of them were. Had our readers been passing the door of the old Calcutta Council House in September 1768, for it was the habit in the city then to use conspicuous places, for advertisements to be affixed, they would have seen the subjoined notice.

To the Public.

"Mr. Bolts takes this method of informing the Public that the want of a printing press in this city being of great disadvantage in business, and making it extremely difficult to communicate such intelligence to the community as is of the utmost importance to every British subject: he is ready to give the best encouragement to any person or persons who are versed in the art of printing, and will undertake to manage a press; the type and utensils of which, he can produce.

"In the meantime, he begs leave to inform the Public that having in manuscript many things to communicate which most intimately concern every individual, any person who may be induced by curiosity, or other more laudable motives, will be permitted at Mr. Bolts' house, to read, or take copies of the same. A person will give due attendance, at the hours of from ten to twelve every morning."

Never in the history of any Government has one single man of low station, made himself such a gigantic nuisance. What Mr. Bolts wished or wanted, no living being ever knew or guessed. He was a Lope de Vega with his pen, and Jack Cade was pleasant compared to him. There was a method about the madness of the Kentish rebel which let men know his demands, and which Mr. Bolts had not. Perkin Warbeck was not a gnome;

he bore an unaccountable facial resemblance to Edward the Fourth, and lived in the convenient days of Tyburn and easy law ; but this Mr. Bolts, according to Mr. Verelst at whom he levelled the majority of his abuse, was enough to make a man's hair turn prematurely grey.

"Now while Lord Clive had bestowed," says Sir John Malcolm, "the highest and most merited praise on Mr. Verelst's honor, worth, and disinterestedness, he asserts that the too great tenderness of his disposition had made him govern with too lenient a hand ; that he himself by his farewell letter to the Select Committee had done all in his power to guard him against this error, and to prompt him to vigorous measures."

Where Lord Clive failed, William Bolts, merchant, succeeded. The poodle in the rustic story which had barked for six months at the Haberdasher's newfoundland, was dropt into the well by the latter after all. It was in vain that Mr. Bolts was cautioned, advised, admonished. He had a great imaginary grievance and he would let the inhabitants of the earth know it. But it was also in vain that the Governor and Council endeavored to be heedless. The man had got his printer and his printing press ; and Machiavel set the type up, as Lope de Vega wrote his countless pages which were "intimately to concern every individual."

The climax arrived. On the 19th of September 1768, the following document signed by the Governor and Council was delivered to Captain Robert Coxe, a "Military Captain."

"SIR,—You are hereby ordered to deliver the accompanying order to Mr. William Bolts, which if he refuses to comply with, you are to use all methods in your power to take him into custody, and carry him on board the *Cuddalore* schooner belonging to the Honorable Company, and carry him down the river, with a guard on board, and put him on board the ship *Valentine*, Captain Charles Purvis, but not till such time as they are actually weighing anchor. But you are to observe, that you are not to break open bolts, locks, doors or windows ; but to use all other methods you possibly can, to put this order in execution ; in which you are to use as little violence as the nature of the case will admit ; for which this shall be your sufficient authority.

(Signed.)	H. VERELST.
„	JOHN CARTIER.
„	RICHARD SMITH.
„	RICHARD BEECHER.
„	CLAUD RUSSELL.
„	CHARLES FFLOYER.

Fort William."

Captain Coxe's report to the Board, in respect of his taking charge of Mr. Bolts, was made four days after and ran as follows :—

"That finding the doors open he went up-stairs, and found Mr. Bolts alone, and shewing him the Board's order, Mr. Bolts said he would not leave his house unless Captain Coxe made him a prisoner and forced him : the Captain telling him he was glad to find him so well prepared to leave the place, he said he had expected he should be forced away, and had been very busy in getting himself in readiness. After this Captain Coxe thinking he made a very unnecessary delay, and fearing he intended to procure himself to be arrested for debt, desired him to make despatch, upon which he again said he would not go unless Captain Coxe forced him. Whereupon the Captain called two sepoys, who put their hands on his shoulder by his own desire, saying he would not go if they did not take hold of him ; he then came down-stairs, desiring some gentlemen present to take notice that he was forced out of his house. Captain Coxe adds, that Mr. Bolts was in every respect prepared for this order, having his books and papers in great form, which he delivered to his attornies, telling them that everything was so plain they could not mistake observing that plain directions were given as to such debts as they were to get in."

On September 30th Mr. Bolts wrote to Captain Purvis who had orders to take him to England.

SIR,—Conformably to a conspiracy which has been long forming against me, my family, liberty, and property by my enemies, and sundry other evil-minded persons, who have combined together to force me to Europe, I am this instant brought down alongside your vessel, by a captain, serjeant, and a party of armed sepoys, who have some time held me a prisoner, and who are now going to force me up the sides of your ship to be there continued a prisoner till I get to England. If therefore you do not intend to receive me, and keep me a prisoner, I am to require you will instantly take the necessary measures for repelling by force the violence intended, that I may be freed from my present captivity, and saved from ruin.

I am, &c.,

WILLIAM BOLTS.

Mr. Bolts' facilities of literary composition were never more exemplified than in his writing the above epistle in the extraordinary attitude he represents. But on land, two lines of enquiry were ever met by him with twenty pages of reply, nor was this unhappy vice peculiar only to Mr. Bolts. There was in Calcutta at that time a certain Lawyer named Mr. George Sparks who was more famous in his defences, for vehemency, than respect, and it suited Mr. Bolts to engage a practitioner of that description. During the proceedings Mr. Sparks so vilified and aspersed Mr. Verelst's character, that that gentleman was com-

pelled to punish him, by prohibiting him from continuing his profession in the Court of Calcutta. Several months afterwards, the attorney penned his old client a letter detailing his many grievances. The latter person was in England, the former at Chittagong, and he thus adverts to the state of Anglo-Indian life as it then, according to his mind, existed ;—"Public spirit is unknown among us. We are all slaves: and far the greater part servilely hug the chains which gall them.—Fawning, cringing, abject, sycophant slaves—*dogs that will lick the foot that spurns them.* Trade and navigation is no more; and inland commerce is carried on in the old way, only more tyrannically and oppressively. We are all bankrupts. He is reckoned a monied man, and an excellent paymaster who can discharge a bill of 1000 rupees in a month after it is due. *The gaol is considerably enlarged, and yet insufficient to hold the debtors who are daily thrust into it.* If we were bad when you were here, we are now miserable, yet the inhuman causers of our distress can, unmoved, behold the dire effects of their iniquity, and steadily pursue the same destructive measures."

It is a simple transition from the gaol of Calcutta to a low "sponging house" in Holborn, London, kept by a man of the name of Vere, a Sheriff's officer; and there, twelve months after his exportation to England, we will find Mr. Alderman Bolts, louder in his speech and longer in his letters. The East India House was inundated with his literature, and the directors began to feel anxious to release their fretful captive. He did possess, of his own and others' property a sum like one hundred and thirty thousand pounds, and there is no doubt that a great deal of it was lost during his banishment, and he was placed in the Sheriff's custody merely because the directors had cancelled the sentence, and bade him return to his old functions in the Honorable the Mayor's Court of Calcutta. He had no means in London to pay his current expenses with, and his creditors would not allow him to depart, hence his intimacy with Mr. Vere. But that troublesome point was settled, and the refractory Alderman returned to Calcutta, and in 1772 the printing office which was founded by the author of *Sir Charles Grandison*, and *Pamela*, gave forth to those readers interested in private feuds, eight hundred annotated quarto pages of the dreariest rhapsody of which Mr. Bolts was the unhappy conceiver. We have noticed that the best bred racer is bled by the smallest gnat, and we presume that Mr. Verelst's concern in this feud was the result of a too thin skin, and a too sensible nature. It is not recorded that Mr. Bolts misbehaved himself upon his return.

It was during Mr. Verelst's rule that the new gold coinage

was first issued. It was considered the only practicable method of abolishing the pernicious system of reducing the Batta or Sicca Rupees annually, but it was also quite evident that the Government must meet in some way or other the increasing scarcity of specie. Appeals were made to Mr. Verelst, praying for his assistance, and merchants—European and Armenian—respectfully offered suggestions. It will be seen from the annexed letters that the scheme of the Armenians was the one carried out.

To the Honorable HARRY VERELST,
 &c. &c. &c.

GENTLEMEN,—The universal distress of the settlement at present for specie, will, we hope, excuse our troubling you with this address, requesting in our names, and those of the inhabitants of Calcutta in general, the assistance of your Government and authority to remedy this evil, which grows every day more severely felt by every merchant in Bengal.

We are highly sensible of your care and attention to the welfare of the inhabitants, from your late orders regarding the Gold Mohurs; and flatter ourselves that this application, as it equally merits, will equally meet with your regard.

Before the Gold Mohurs were called in, the shroffs had so far taken the advantage of the necessity of individuals, that they had made the changing of money, from a bare livelihood, to a most advantageous trade to themselves, and a distressful tax upon every man who wanted money beyond the bounds of Calcutta; yet, at that very time, any sum might have been had in silver, by paying a high premium to those people who had it in their possession. From this we are led to believe that there is still specie sufficient for the trade of Bengal, though perhaps not enough to answer the currency of this extensive town; and that if any method could be fallen upon to keep shroffs, to their proper sphere, and prevent their taking advantage of the necessities of those who carry on trade to the Durungs, a gold coin might still be made convenient and useful currency for this settlement, though not for the trade of Bengal in general; whereas at present the distress is so great, that every merchant in Calcutta is in danger of becoming bankrupt, or running a risk of ruin by attachments on his goods, which would not sell for half their value, it being impossible to raise a large sum at any premium or bond.

As many of us have severely felt the late inconveniences, we have often reflected on the various methods by which it appeared to us possible to remedy them, and we hope you will excuse our subjoining one for your superior judgment, which appears

to us most reasonable ; that is, to coin mohurs, half mohurs, and quarter mohurs, equal in value to those commonly called Delhi ; forbidding by your authority, any shroff, under pain of severe fine and imprisonment, to exact more than one per cent. for exchanging them into silver, for the purposes of merchants trading out of Calcutta ; with which allowance we are persuaded they will become satisfied in the course of a few months ; since, before there was any gold coin sufficient in Calcutta, they subsisted by exchanging Sicca Rupees, into Arcotts, Sunnauts, &c. for the Durg trade ; and we do not remember the exchange ever exceeded two per cent., and was in general only from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Praying your pardon for this long trespass on your patience, we beg leave to subscribe ourselves with the utmost respect,

Gentleman,
Your most obedient and most humble servants,

To the Honorable HARRY VERELST.

&c.

&c.

&c.

The humble petition of the
Armenian Merchants settled
in Calcutta.

SHEWETH,—That the scarcity of coin now felt in this capital, amongst the many intolerable evils arising from it, affects every individual to that degree, that the best houses, with magazines full of goods, are distressed for daily provisions, and that not only a general bankruptcy is to be feared, likely to involve every soul in the settlement, but a real famine in the midst of wealth and plenty. That to prevent those evils from coming to a destructive crisis, your petitioners, prompted by that zeal incumbent upon them as ancient British subjects, and by their own heartfelt distresses, humbly beg leave to submit to your wisdom how far an immediate coinage of mohurs, with all their divisions and sub-divisions to one anna, sixteen Siccas value of pure gold, to be lawfully tendered in payment universally all over these British dominions, and admitted at the Treasury of both capitals, might be an adequate means to ward off the impending ruin ; since any coin whatever is better than no coin at all, a measure brought on by the artificial scarcity of silver coin, strongly pointed out by the combinations evidently entered upon by the bankers, and warranted by the large quantity of gold lately imported into this place ; a measure for the rectitude of which your petitioners can account to their own consciences, and in

the support whereof they hereby beg leave to pledge their good faith and honour. Your petitioners humbly hope, honorable Sir, and Sirs, that your goodness will take the premises into consideration, or give them whatever relief your wisdom shall think fit.

And your petitioners bound in gratitude and duty shall ever pray, &c.

To the Hon'ble HARRY VERELST, Esq.,

President, &c.

Council at Fort William.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,—The Honorable the Mayor's Court of the town of Calcutta, beg leave to represent, that in the practice of their Court they have for some time past observed the growth of an evil, which has daily increased, in so much that the sufferings of many will thereby become intolerable, unless a speedy relief be afforded them. The evil of which they speak, is the very great decrease of specie, so that there remains not sufficient for the occasions and intercourse of commerce, and scarcely for the private economy of the inhabitants of Calcutta. It is felt by all ranks of people in the loss of credit and confidence; the fair and honest dealer is every day prosecuted to judgment in their Court without remedy, from the impossibility of obtaining payment from his debtors, to satisfy the claim of his creditors, but by a course of law. He is thus urged by his necessity to involve himself in expensive suits; he is forced to defend, in order to gain time, though sensible of the justness, and desirous to pay the demand; and he is drove to a hasty prosecution, in hopes to recover, before judgment passeth against himself, though fully convinced of his debtor's willingness to pay as soon as he is able; his substance is in this manner wasted, and the distress which follows to obvious and moving to need description.

They are unable to express what they feel in the discharge of their duty; but the daily instances of the melancholy consequences of this calamity, call upon them to lay this faithful representation before you, in full confidence, from the experienced tenderness and zeal for the public prosperity and welfare, which has so particularly distinguished your administration, of such effectual remedy as in your wisdom you shall judge most meet.

By order of the Honorable the Mayor's Court.

(Signed) JOHN HOLME,
Register.

Town Hall, Calcutta, }
March 14, 1769. }

The Board being fully sensible, from daily observation and experience, of the truth of the facts alleged in these letters and petition, and convinced of the fatal consequences, which must speedily and unavoidably accrue from them to the Company's affairs both at home and in India,—

Resolved.—“ We immediately take this affair into consideration, and endeavour, as far as possible, to find out some safe, or at least temporary remedy, for this growing evil, till the orders of the Honorable the Court of Directors shall enable us to remove it entirely. Upon a strict and impartial enquiry, we find that this scarcity of specie, so severely felt by the merchants here, is not an accidental or fictitious one, nor confined to Calcutta alone, but that the same indigence is spread over the whole country, so that the ministers have made no secret of their apprehensions, that either the revenue must fall short, or be collected in kind, from a want of a sufficient currency for sales and purchases. We can expect no relief in this, from any sums brought into the country, for the purpose of trade inland, because all the commerce formerly to the Northwest and westward by Guzerat, Cashmere, Mogul Merchants, &c. is now precluded by the vast increase of our own and foreign investments, whose advance we see with concern, but where the strictness of the Company's orders will not permit us to interfere, though ever so indirectly. We can expect no silver from home, and a mere trifle from the foreign Companies. The French Treasury has been amply supplied this year by bills for above twenty lakhs on this settlement from England, besides vast sums paid into their cash by individuals. The Dutch imports of bullion have, for several years past, not exceeded eight or ten lakhs per annum, and the Danes bring not in above two lakhs more. The country's distress must also yearly increase. Its whole revenues are divested into our Treasury, and only the sums necessary for the investment, and our current expenses, return again into the channel of circulation. The difference, therefore, between the amount of the revenues, and the sum of the investment and disbursements, is an annual loss to the currency, and must, in the end, swallow up the whole, unless a proportional import of specie is made, or till the aggregate of the investment and disbursements shall become equal to the whole revenues. This will explain the unavoidable increase of poverty in the country; and as the Treasury is a continual drain upon that, so the immense exports to China, Madras, Bombay, with the King's tribute, and the expense of a brigade out of our provinces, will but too well account for the low ebb to which it has, in its turn, been reduced. If we consider the state of the provinces in this point of view, and reflect,

‘at the same time, that they produce no silver or gold, so that
‘imports of both have been, for a series of years, very inconsi-
‘derable; that a large proportion of their treasures were car-
‘ried off by a fugitive tyrant, and that, for several years, few re-
‘turns have been made to exports in general, and trade rendered
‘a kind of monopoly in the hands of a few, we shall rather be
‘surprized how the country has supported itself so long under
‘such exhausting circumstances, than at the rapid progress of
‘general penury.”

In 1770 Mr. Verelst resigned, and his old friend and faithful co-operator John Cartier succeeded him. Mr. Cartier's rule lasted little more than two years, and political capacity, or personal worth had no opportunity for displaying themselves during his term of Government on account of the dreadful famine which desolated Bengal. The human misery, while the scourge lasted, outdoes every other visitation of the kind to which India has been subjected. Harry Verelst returned to England as soon as his Governorship had ceased, with a fortune of seventy thousand pounds. It was not exorbitant, for he had been in India many years, and was a man of moderate habits. He had worked hard, and single-handed. He was one who reigned in a time of peace when war on every side could easily have been provoked. His tenets were those of a Christian man. He was the same to Jew or gentile, bond or free. He never lost an opportunity for advancing the condition of the natives, and his name was revered amongst them. At the same time he encouraged many young men in England to adopt India as an arena, and when Lord Clive finally retired to Europe, spending a few months in the charming climate of South France, or drinking the nasty waters of Spa, or at Montpellier suffering from two causes—a deceased liver, and the pamphlet which Sir Robert Fletcher wrote at him—he never hesitated to give young aspirants, letters of introduction, on their setting out to the East—to Harry Verelst. When the latter went home he purchased a pleasant property—one of the many Aston Halls which England can boast of. It is situated nine miles from Rotherham, Yorkshire. It is connected with many of our happiest associations. The family has spread widely among the Commoners and some branches of the nobility. One son distinguished himself at Waterloo with the Regiment which was “second to none.” During an absence of the family for some years from Aston Hall, the property was occupied temporarily by Byron's friend, Colonel Wildman. The poet was his guest for a time, and a library with concise decorations in the form of human skulls, the suggestion of Childe Harold, still exists.

Standing there at this distant period, it strikes one as the suggestion being a fit insignia for us all. Clive and the literary Rawlinson who rescued him from a dark oblivion, who read the hieroglyphics of his strange character aright, are no more. The doors of Westminster have scarcely closed upon Macaulay, and Lord Clive's House at Dum-Dum continues to brave the devastations of time.

There is at the present time a portrait in the Court house of Calcutta of one of Mr. Verelst's friends who played no unimportant part in the drama of that period. He was more the friend of Hastings with whom he had swam in the Thames, cricketted at college, and vied in sentimental verse making, we allude to Sir Elijah Impey. He was also the intimate associate of Churchill, the elder Colman, Cumberland and Cowper. He was an enemy of Sir Philip Francis, and has been severely handled by Macaulay. He was admitted pensioner of Trinity College, Cambridge, the year after his young friend of Daylesford sailed for Calcutta. He became a junior wrangler, Chancellor's Medalist, and senior Fellow, and in course of time was called to the Bar. He found himself fraternizing with Thurlow, Kenyon, Mansfield and others of rising fame as pleaders. Then when his own time came he was elected to the post of first Chief Justice of Fort William, Calcutta. This was the reward for a success he had achieved in a difficult case at the Exeter Assizes. His friend Hastings was in the zenith of his Indian fame, and that fact partly induced him to reconcile himself to his exile. A few years before, "Junius" had burst forth in the columns of the "Public Advertiser" in all his envenomed strength and unparalleled audacity. Ministers and Majesty were alike blackened. For four years men in high places withered beneath the withering sarcasm of the newspaper reviler, but all at once—when Mr. Philip Francis received from Lord North an appointment as member of the Supreme Council of Calcutta with a salary of just ten thousand pounds per annum—the *letters of Junius ceased*. Sir Elijah Impey and Mr. Francis sailed together from England in the same ship, as did also two other new members of Council, General Clavering, and Colonel Monson. It would appear that even then the ungovernable hatred which Mr. Francis felt towards Sir Elijah Impey began to reveal itself, and which ultimately ended in Francis' impeachment of the Chief Justice. John Nicholls Eyre, M. P., has done his best to account for this animosity, in his account of the trial of Warren Hastings, and the Parliamentary proceedings against Sir Elijah Impey. He says ;— "Mr. Francis was a man of considerable abilities. He was a very superior classical scholar ; and he was capable of laborious ap-

‘plication. Strong resentment was a leading feature in his character. I have heard him avow this sentiment more openly and more explicitly than I ever heard any other man avow it in the whole course of my life. I have heard him publicly say in the House of Commons, “Sir Elijah Impey is not fit to sit in judgment on any matters where I am interested, nor am I fit to sit in judgment upon him.”

An account of the origin of this ill-will may be amusing. “Mrs. LeGrand, the wife of a gentleman in the Civil Service in Bengal, was admired for her beauty, for the sweetness of her temper, and for her fascinating accomplishments. She attracted the attention of Mr. Francis. This gentleman by means of a rope ladder, got into her apartment in the night. After he had remained there about three quarters of an hour, there was an alarm; and Mr. Francis came down from the lady’s apartment by the rope ladder, at the foot of which he was seized by Mr. LeGrand’s servants. An action was brought by Mr. LeGrand against Mr. Francis, in the Supreme Court of Justice in Calcutta. The Judges in that Court assess the damages in Civil actions, without the intervention of a jury. The gentlemen who at that time filled this situation were Sir Elijah Impey, Chief Justice, Sir Robert Chambers* and Mr. Justice Hyde. I was intimate with the first and third from early life, having lived with them on the western circuit. On the trial of this cause Sir Robert Chambers thought that as no criminality had been proved, no damages should be given. But he afterwards proposed to give thirty thousand Rupees. Mr. Justice Hyde was for giving a hundred thousand Rupees. I believe that Mr. Justice Hyde was as upright a judge as ever sat on any bench; but he had an implacable hatred to those who indulged in the crime imputed to Mr. Francis. Sir Elijah Impey was of opinion that, although no criminal intercourse had been proved, yet the wrong done by Mr. Francis to Mr. LeGrand, in entering his wife’s apartment in the night, and thereby destroying her reputation, ought to be compensated with liberal damages. He thought that the sum of thirty thousand Rupees, proposed by Sir Robert Chambers, too small; and that proposed by Mr. Hyde of a hundred thousand, too large. He therefore suggested a middle course of fifty thousand Rupees. This proposal was acquiesced in by his two colleagues. When Sir Elijah Impey was delivering the judgment of the Court, my late friend Mr. Justice Hyde could not conceal his eager zeal on the subject; and when Sir Elijah named the sum of fifty

* The intimate friend of Dr. Johnson, and one of the old “Garrick Club.”

‘ thousand Rupees, Mr. Hyde to the great amusement of the
 ‘ bystanders, called out, “ Siccas, brother Impey, Siccas !” which
 ‘ are worth eleven per cent. more than the current Rupees.”

“ Perhaps this story may not be thought worthy of relation, but
 ‘ it gave occasion to that animosity which Mr. Francis publicly
 ‘ avowed against Sir Elijah Impey ; and the criminal charge
 ‘ afterwards brought against him in the House of Commons was
 ‘ the offspring of that animosity. I will follow up this anecdote by
 ‘ mentioning the consequences of the action brought by Mr. Le-
 ‘ Grand. The lady was divorced : she was obliged to throw her-
 ‘ self under the protection of Mr. Francis for subsistence. After
 ‘ a short time she left him and went to England. In London
 ‘ she fell into the company of Talleyrand. Captivated by her
 ‘ charms, he prevailed on her to accompany him to Paris, where
 ‘ he married her ; and thus the insult which this lady received
 ‘ from Mr. Francis, and the loss of reputation, which was perhaps
 ‘ unjustly, the consequences of that insult, eventually elevated
 ‘ her to the rank of Princess of Benevento.”

Some years afterwards there were gathered under one roof at Neuilly, by the purest accident, the following individuals. Mr. and Mrs. Fox, Sir Elijah and Lady Impey, M. and Me de Talleyrand, Sir Philip Francis and ——— Mr. LeGrand ! How the two latter looked and felt in their false position with M. le Ministre des Relations Extérieures, and his elevated wife, Sir Elijah’s biographer fails to explain.

Warren Hastings and Sir Philip Francis were never the kind of men to have a feeling in common, or a sympathy between them. Every act of Hastings was opposed by Francis, and it was evident to all persons concerned that an open rupture was inevitable ; and they were correct in their surmises. Francis had exposed Hastings “ to the hazard of open ignominy ‘ derision and defeat,” and his victim exclaimed in the bitterness of his soul “ I am not governor, all the powers I possess are ‘ those of preventing the rule from falling into worse hands than ‘ my own.” At last what appeared to Hastings a “ flagrant breach of the contract” which he and Francis had entered into together, brought matters to a crisis, and on the 14th of August 1780 the governor declared in a minute in Council,— “ I do not trust Mr. Francis’s promises of candour, convinced ‘ that he is incapable of it. I judge of his public conduct by ‘ his private which I have found to be void of truth and honor,” and a copy of this was enclosed in a note to Mr. Francis, which left but one course open to him and that one he adopted. They met next morning between five and six and fought with pistols. They both fired at the same time, Mr. Francis’s ball missed, but

that of Mr. Hastings pierced the right side of Mr. Francis, but was prevented by a rib, which turned the ball, from entering the thorax. It went obliquely upwards, passed the back bone without injuring it, and was extracted about an inch on the left side of it. After Mr. Francis's recovery, a reconciliation with his adversary was found impracticable; he refused, by a formal message to admit a visit from Mr. Hastings, declaring that he would meet him only in Council.

It is needless to dwell upon the details of Sir Elijah Impey's recall, or his eventual acquittal from all suspicion. He gathered around him in his Sussex retirement men who had trodden the same ground as himself, Hastings from Daylesford, and Verelst from Aston. At times too he could playfully attempt to lead his son's attention from Tibullus and Propertius to the travesties of Parnell, or quote Homer and Virgil against Warren Hastings' translations of Lucan. It was a common occurrence for James Boswell to be one of the pleasant group, when he would inflict his bagpipe performances upon his friends, until he finally drove Hastings to the organ, and Impey to the Violincello. Of the horrors of that amateur combination, Verelst spoke in strong language. "They reminded me forcibly" he says "of one thing, and nothing else, *the discordance in the Calcutta Council Chamber.*" He alluded to the "Franciscan disorder."

Mr. Hastings was livelier in his versicles than upon his organ; Sir Elijah's son considered him an admirable epigrammatist and gives a couplet of the ex-Governor's.

A serpent bit Francis, that Virulent Knight
What then? 'Twas the serpent that died of the bite?

But Hastings had figured in rhyme himself during the Benares insurrection, in doggrel done by the native rabble:

Hatee pur houda, Ghora pur zeen
Juldee jao, juldee jao, Warren Hasteen!

which may be translated

Horse, elephant, houda, set off at full swing
Run away, ride away, Warren Hasting.*

Mr. Forbes in his "Oriental Memoirs" says in an ebullition of eulogy;—"I was highly entertained with one visitor of this description, (a Hindoo traveller in Dhuboy) who, seeing me engaged on public business in the Durbar inquired to which Presidency I belonged. On replying that I was on the Bombay establishment, he wished me to explain the nature of the British

* Impey's Memoirs.

‘Governments in India, particularly in what manner the other
 ‘presidencies were subordinate to the Governor General of Ben-
 ‘gal. Having endeavored so to do, the venerable Brahmin told
 ‘me he had lived under many different Governments, and travel-
 ‘led in many countries, but had never witnessed a general diffu-
 ‘sion of happiness equal to that of the natives under the mild
 ‘and equitable administration of Mr. Hastings, at that time Go-
 ‘vernor General of Bengal. I cannot forget the words of this
 ‘respectable pilgrim; we were near a banian tree in the durbar
 ‘court when he thus concluded his discourse. “As the burr-
 ‘tree, one of the noblest productions in nature, by extending its
 ‘branches for the comfort and refreshment of all who seek its
 ‘shelter, is emblematical of the Deity; so do the virtues of the
 ‘Governor resemble the burr-tree; he extends his providence to
 ‘the remotest districts, and stretches out his arms, far and wide,
 ‘to afford protection and happiness to his people; such Saheb, is
 ‘Mr. Hastings!” Yet, this is the man who by the violence of
 faction, intended for patriotic zeal and conducted by a flow of
 eloquence seldom equalled, was arraigned for crimes the most
 foreign to his benevolent heart, and doomed to a trial of seven
 years’ duration, a scene unparalleled in the annals of mankind.

“I never saw Mr. Hastings until his public appearance on that
 ‘solemn occasion, and could then hardly conceive it possible, by
 ‘any combination of ideas, or concatenation of circumstances, to
 ‘believe that a man should be tried in his own country, for crimes
 ‘supposed to have been committed at ten thousand miles dis-
 ‘tance; among a people who not only knew his character, but
 ‘feeling the blessings which flowed from his humane and benevo-
 ‘lent heart, considered him as an emblem of the godhead.”!

Mr. Forbes also remarks;—“I have since passed one of the hap-
 ‘piest days which has fallen to my lot at Daylesford, the paternal
 ‘seat of this great man; where, in the bosom of his family and
 ‘the pleasures of society, hospitality and benevolence, but above
 ‘all, in the retrospective view of a well spent life, he passed the
 ‘evening of his days in a state of calm delight, far beyond all the
 ‘wealth and honors to which his country and his sovereign deem-
 ‘ed him entitled. Never have I beheld *otium cum dignitate* more
 ‘truly enjoyed; never was I more convinced of the serenity and
 ‘happiness of *mens sibi conscia recti*.”

Thousands of feet tread past the House of Warren Hastings
 in the Calcutta street which bears his name, unconscious that
 the tenement was built by him a hundred years ago, and still
 remains unaltered; while the throbs of an aroused nation’s heart
 —bleeding from the wounds received in a frightful mutiny, like
 the faint tone of distant thunder, remind us of the abated storm.

Even from where we write, we can see the birds resting on the branches of that broad tree under which Warren Hastings took aim at his provoking enemy. Was it Junius who sank under that tree on the eventful Sunday morning? Was the secret of the mysterious authorship locked up in that breast which Hastings of Daylesford had covered with blood? Macaulay thought so, as all men some day will.

Harry Verelst went home to note another Clive rise up in America in the person of George Washington, to conduct the eight years' war for independence. In the midst of it commenced the Gordon Riots at home, when the fanatical mob lusting after rapine and destruction swept through the streets which had but a short time before been thronged with the solemn pageantry of Chatham's public obsequies. Then he saw the same Cornwallis fail in Virginia who was to succeed in Seringapatam and be India's Governor, while upon the seas the Spaniards and French were being conquered by Rodney. Another annual cycle of months and the British were nobly rushing from their guns in the galleries of Gibraltar to rescue their Spanish enemies from the flaming ships.

But Harry Verelst read all these signs of the times in the quiet retirement of Aston, and in the genial company of the poets Gray and Mason. A favorite bower of Gray's can still be seen as luxuriant as when the poet enjoyed its solitariness. Mason obtained the living of Aston in the year which witnessed the horrors of the Black Hole, and subsequently was made one of the Royal Chaplains, an honorable position which he forfeited at the beginning of the American War, some expressions of his on freedom giving offence at Court. Having thus slightly sketched the course of a youth from Writers' Buildings to the distinction of Governor of Bengal, then down the sunny declivity to his well-earned English home, our object is accomplished.

In December last died Charles Verelst, Esq., a grandson of the Governor. He inherited the Aston Hall property in 1852, and seemed also to inherit the estimable qualities of his ancestor, for in his praise as a scholar, a man or a friend, language can scarcely be too lavish. The present representative of the family is a youth—Harry Verelst. The old name has come round again, may it long continue as it has hitherto done—without a slur upon it.

ART. II.—1. *Transactions of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India.* 1859.

2. *The Bengal Hurkaru.* 1860.

3. *The Indian Field.* 1860.

TEA, like every thing connected with the East, has its traditional associations. About the year 516 B. C., for so the Chinese story goes, an Indian devotee named Dhurma touched by the ignorance, with respect to all religious duties, of the people of the Flowery land, undertook a toilsome and perilous journey to China. Being addicted to habits of the severest abstinence, he overlooked the necessity of providing himself with that amount of food which alone could fortify him against the unwonted fatigues of so protracted an excursion. As he denied himself a sufficiency of both food and rest, it was to be expected that by the time he had reached his destination, the claims of the body should assert themselves in spite of the utmost opposition of the spirit. He lay down and fell asleep. On awaking, he was stung with remorse at having indulged the flesh, and as an expiation, he plucked out both his eye-brows and scattered the hairs upon the ground. Instantly these hairs were transformed into a number of bushy plants. Curiosity led him to taste some of the leaves, when, to his delight, he found they had the effect of imparting fresh vigour to his mind and so promoting divine meditation. So potent a devotional stimulant ought not, he thought, to be disregarded. His fame soon spread in the strange country, and his disciples were numbered by thousands; but to all who submitted to his teaching, he recommended the leaves of the wonderful tree. The tree as a consequence, was eagerly sought for and cultivated, until not only Dhurma's disciples, but the entire population of China, acquired an irresistible relish for its leaves. This was the tea. Whatever may be the nucleus around which this tradition has wrapped its folds of fable, there can be no doubt that the story was to some extent suggested by the stimulating properties of the beverage which "cheers but not inebriates." Here we are content to leave the matter, and pass on to things that are more appreciable. We may not unravel the mystery of its supposed miraculous origin; but of tea itself, its cultivation, its manufacture, and especially its use, we decidedly know more now than in the days when Lady Pumphraston boiled her green tea, and serving it up with melted butter as condiment to a salted rump

of beef, complained that nothing she could do "would make these foreign greens tender."

Valuable papers on the subject of tea have from time to time been contributed to the Journal of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India, and, more recently, the local newspapers have published interesting accounts of the present condition and prospects of the cultivation in Assam and Cachar. From these as well as other sources, we propose to bring together pretty nearly all the information that is abroad, respecting the enterprise as it has been prosecuted in the provinces just mentioned.

The tea tree was discovered in Assam by Mr. Bruce in the year 1825, or a twelvemonth after the province passed into the hands of the British Government. The Government themselves became the first cultivators; but feeling that the speculation would be more manageable in the hands of private companies whose enterprise it was deemed politic to encourage, they early withdrew from the experiment, and transferred their gardens to the Assam Tea Company. The discovery of the plant in Assam appears to have suggested the likelihood of its also being indigenous to Cachar. In the year 1834, as Lieutenant Stewart tells us, the Secretary to the Committee for Tea Culture addressed a letter on the subject to the then Superintendent of Cachar, whose reply not only corroborated the surmise expressed by the Secretary, respecting the natural fitness of the soil for tea cultivation, but announced the existence in his district of "a species of camelia, the leaves of which he had seen manufactured by a native from the confines of China into something 'resembling tea.'" But whilst the productive resources of Assam, aided by the wise administration of the local Government, were gaining rapid development under the active enterprise of numerous speculators, the forest wealth of Cachar lay wholly neglected till the year 1855, when Conoonauth, a Cacharee cooly, having seen the Assam plant, proved its identity with the luxuriant and indigenous growth of his own native hills. Since then, private capital has flowed liberally into the district, and numerous gardens have sprung up, whose commercial value will, we have no doubt, rival that of the Assam plantations, as soon as experiment and experience have helped the planters to discover, and successfully contend against, the influences that as yet retard the cultivation.

Whilst the discovery of tea in Assam was still recent, the Government organized a scientific expedition to the province, with a view to ascertain the physical condition of the plant "with reference to Geological structure, soils and climate."

The members of the expedition, after traversing the forests of the upper country, were inclined to the opinion that the plant was not, strictly speaking, indigenous to Assam, but had probably been introduced at some remote period from China. The fact that there were no tea colonies in the northern portion of the Berhampooter valley or in the Mishmee mountains, led them to conclude that the tea could not have been introduced from countries in that direction. The inference appeared natural, that it found its way into the province from the East, and ultimately from China. This conclusion was, in their view, corroborated by the existence of numerous antiquities and architectural ruins whose architraves, cornices, pilasters, and columns, some in Saracenic, some in Roman style, gave evidence of the high state of civilization that prevailed in Assam in the ancient past. This, said they, "would lead us to conclude that the 'luxuries of neighbouring countries (and the tea plant among the 'rest) were probably artificially introduced." That we may be at no loss to account for the way in which the tea forests came into existence, we are told:—

"On reference to the map it will be seen that the plant is traced along the course of the small rivers which enter the valley from the south-east, in a series of distinct colonies; rendering it probable that the seeds have been transmitted forwards along the course of the currents. It is not necessary that the seeds should have been conveyed at once down the current of any one of these streams from a great distance into the valley, or to suppose that their vegetative principle could survive submersion in a current for any length of time without injury. It is enough that a single seed may have fallen from a Chinese caravan, near the source of one of those fluvial ramifications which converge to the valley, on every side, over 18° Long. and 4° Lat., where it may have been deposited under circumstances favourable to its growth and propagation. A colony would thus be established, from which thousands of seeds might be annually transmitted, and although ten thousand of these might be lost, still one of them might be drifted during a flood along the banks of a stream, and deposited under circumstances favourable to the establishment of an advanced colony and so on."

Pretty and ingenious as this theory may be, there was no necessity for it. Tea-seeds serve no economic purpose either among the Chinese or any other nation, and if they came in a Chinese caravan, they must have been brought with especial view to the propagation of tea in Assam. If they were brought with that express view, it is not necessary to suppose that the forests of Assam originated in the accidental falling of one or many seeds from the caravan. A more likely deduction would be, that these forests had been artificially planted. But the truth is, there is every reason to believe that the tea is indigenous to Assam. If it grows wild in Cachar, Munnipore, Sylhet and Tipperah, surely we need not contend for its artificial in-

troductio into Assam. It is enough for us that, so far as the analogy derived from the identity of race of the various peoples of Eastern Asia including Assam, or from the conditions under which the numerous tribes of the animal and vegetable kingdoms are, in this section of the globe, found associated together gives confirmation to the presumption created by its actual presence in the province, we have satisfactory proof that the tea-plant, allied as it is to the natural productions of Eastern Asia, is as indigenous to Assam as it is to China.

The conditions found to be necessary to the growth and propagation of tea in China, are also furnished by the soil and climate of Assam. Upper Assam may be generally described as an alluvial basin formed by the confluence of several rivers of which the Berhampooter is the chief; but as it is here that the tea has been found to grow most luxuriantly, the peculiarities of the soil selected by the plant become worthy of distinct analysis. In a paper contributed to the Horticultural Society's journal many years ago, Mr. Piddington has given us a comparative analysis of the tea soils of Upper Assam and the Bohea Hills of China. It is as follows:—

			Tea soils of Assam.		Tea soil of China.
			Surface soil.	At 2½ feet deep.	
" Water	...	..	2.45	2.00	3.00
Vegetable Matter	...	...	1.00	.80	1.00
Carbonate of Iron	...	...	7.40	6.70	9.90
Alumina	..	..	3.50	5.45	9.10
Silex	...	...	85.40	84.10	76.00
			99.75	99.05	99.00
Traces of Sulphate, and Phos- phate of lime and loss,	...	...	.25	.95	1.00
			100.00	100.00	100.00

There are two peculiarities in these soils: the first, that they contain no carbonate of lime, and only traces of phosphate and sulphate; and the next, that their iron is almost wholly in the state of carbonate of iron—a widely different compound from the simple oxides. They would be called poor yellow loams; and cotton, tobacco or sugar-cane would probably starve upon them; but we find that they suit the tea-plant perfectly. It is a striking coincidence that we should find our tea soils and those of China so exactly alike."

Tea soil has more silex than common soil; it has also less water, a fact which will account for the comparatively small amount of decomposed vegetable matter that enters into its composition. That the amount of moisture in which the common crops of the country flourish, would be prejudicial to the growth of the tea, is amply attested by the fact that the lands

on which the tea is found, are not the low tracts of country liable to periodical inundations, but the high lands, or ranges of low hills that abound in the plains both of Upper Assam and Cachar. More water than what the vegetable matter in the soil can absorb, would cause decomposition, which would discolour the soil and hurt the tea plant. It is not to be inferred from this, that all vegetable admixtures in tea soil are detrimental; on the contrary, observation has proved that, so long as they exist as extraneous matters, or mechanical rather than chemical agents, they act as absorbents of moisture, and their presence is an advantage rather than otherwise. It is only when, owing to a superabundance of moisture, they begin to decompose, that they become deleterious.

But conditions of soil are not the only requisite for the successful propagation of the tea plant. The importance of climate and atmospheric influences generally, cannot be over-estimated. The resemblance that has been established between the tea growing districts of China and Upper Assam in respect of soil, has also been proved in respect of climate. It has been ascertained from the observations of scientific men attached to various embassies that have penetrated into the interior of China, that "the 'tea provinces of China all lie within the parallels of 25° and 31° N. Lat., within which a group of mountains is extended from the Thibetan Alps on the West to the shores of the Yellow Sea, consequently crossing the course of the monsoons whose vapours they may be supposed from all similar analogies to precipitate." The alluvial plains of the valleys being scarcely above the level of the sea, are exposed to frequent inundations from the extensive lakes and rivers to be found there. Now, wherever low marshy lands are surrounded by lofty mountains which intercept their vapours, clouds and mists follow as a natural result. Yet it is in such valleys at the base of mountains, that the tea plant flourishes as well in Upper Assam and Cachar as in China. Observation and experience unite in proving, that ridges or hillocks, situated in such marshy localities, yet themselves above the reach of inundation, are the most advantageous sites for plantations.

And here we may notice a fact stated by Lieutenant Stewart in his interesting paper on the progress of tea cultivation in Cachar. He says:—

"The high lands, which produce the tea, are ranges of small hillocks, which intersect the country country in all directions. They are composed of a red sandy clay (which appears to be the peculiar predilection of the tea plant,) resting on a base of conglomerate rock, and are densely covered with forest. It is remarkable that although the same soil, heaved up into similar ranges, exists on the north bank of the river Barak, which flows

though Cachar, yet tea is found only on the south bank. No one has yet accounted for this capricious dispersion."

The Assam valley presents a similar phenomenon. There, the North-east monsoon blows the vapours exhaled from the Berhampooter, to the Southern side of the valley, where alone our tea colonies are to be found. Possibly, the "capricious dispersion" which forms so marked a feature in Cachar, may be accounted for in a similar way. The land on both banks of the Barak is low and excessively marshy. On the north side, the marshes extend to a distance of ten or fifteen miles, and are only interrupted by a long and lofty range of hills. On the south side, they stretch to another range of hills eight or ten miles from the bank of the river. The heavy mists and fogs emitted from this region of marshes during the cold season, are driven against the southern range by the north winds then prevalent, and lingering over the southern section of the Cachar valley, fill the atmosphere with the humidity so courted by the tea plant. May it not be owing to some atmospheric influence of this kind, that the tea prefers the south bank of the Barak, whilst the north, equally fitted to grow it in respect of geological structure and soil, remains unproductive?

The next topic claiming our attention, is the mode of cultivation. In Assam, as soon as a grant of land has been obtained, it is the practice to fire the forest, except in the immediate vicinity of the tea trees, should there be any growing in it,—and having thus cleared the ground, to hoe it and prepare it for the reception of seed. The seed sown is that of the indigenous as well as the China plant. The seedlings are accordingly exposed to the light and heat of the sun from the moment they sprout. Judging from the habits of the plant in its wild state, one would suppose that such exposure was calculated to be injurious; but the experience of the Assam planters asserts the contrary. The reason appears to be, that the density of the vapours that ascend from the Berhampooter valley fully compensate for the solar influences to which the plant is exposed. But the case is different in Cachar whose latitude is not so high as that of Upper Assam. Having had no previous experience of the necessities of its soil or climate, the planters, on first beginning their gardens, imitated their Assam brethren and cleared the land of forest, before they commenced to sow. The result was, they very soon found their seedlings withering and dying for want of the needful shade. The forest that would have intercepted and detained the moisture required for the sustentation of the plant, was no longer present to mitigate the extreme dryness of the cold season, and every garden threatened to be a failure.

"There was only one planter in Cachar" says Lieutenant Stewart, "who instead of hewing down the forest, had simply 'contented himself with cutting away the underwood, ringing 'the trees and planting between. His seedlings protected in 'their youth during the first dry season by the not yet withered 'foliage above, struck their roots deep down in the moist soil, 'and were next year independent of shade for their existence." Finding themselves in the serious dilemma we have adverted to, and eager to redeem their mistake before seedlings and transplanted saplings had entirely perished, some planters sought to recover their lands with the shade of fast growing, broad-leaved trees such as the *Goonalia* and other jungly growth; but the attempt failed. The trees thus planted, themselves died, owing to the deficiency of moisture of the tea soil. The failure, however, involved no loss, for had they survived, it would most probably have been at the expense of the tea plants which would have been deprived of all nourishment. Abandoning this experiment, the planters returned to the primitive forest. This time they contented themselves with only cutting away the luxuriant undergrowth, hoeing the ground thus cleared, and sowing their seed under the shade of the forest trees. And they were successful; for the bloom and vigour of the young plants thus reared, stood out in conspicuous contrast to the stunted and sickly plants of the first experiment. Still there was a prospective difficulty which needed to be provided against. The shade that in the first year of their existence, was not simply grateful, but vital, to the seedlings, would become irksome after the first six or eight months, and means required to be devised by which they should, up to this period, have the shade, but after it be uncovered; and that not at once, but gradually. Under these circumstances, the planters had recourse to ringing the forest trees which supplied the shade, and to this practice, which has been found successful, they adhere to the present day. A ring of bark is cut out close to the base of each tree, which ensures its gradual decay and death. It is not usual for a tree so treated to perish altogether in less than two years, still the planter's object is gained. Long before its death, and just about the time when the young plants begin to need light and heat, the leaves of the tree begin to wither and fall, so that the decay of foliage takes place simultaneously with the arrival of the tea-plant at that stage of development when shade becomes undesirable.

The sowings do not begin till the month of March, after the first shower of the early rains. When indigenous tea trees, many of which grow thirty or forty feet high in Cachar, are

found among the other trees of the forest, they are cut down to a stump a couple of feet from the ground; but this operation, like the sowing, is postponed till after the first rain has fallen. The tree thus cut down, does not die. Gathering fresh vigour, immediately it shoots out a host of young stems whose opening leaflets are plucked for the manufacture of tea,—the only tea, by the way, which can be made during the first year. Should the forest that has been cleared be found to have no indigenous trees growing in it, the planter can manufacture nothing till the second year, when the seedlings are reckoned strong enough to bear the operation of plucking. The seeds are not sown singly. Making allowance for bad seeds, it is the usual practice to put four into the earth together, instead of depositing them one by one. They are sown at distances of six feet from one another in long parallel rows three feet apart. Throughout the first year, and indeed through the three years following, the work of hoeing and weeding must be diligently attended to. That the hoeing may be properly done, it will be necessary to have a man for every acre of cultivation. From the fifth year however, the expense of cultivation is materially lessened, for when the plants are full grown and bush touches bush as they stand in the long rows, they themselves help to keep down the weeds, which cannot flourish under their shade. After the expiration of the first year, in the month of March, the manufacture begins. After the first hoeing, the plant “flushes” and the young leaves are gathered. Within a fortnight, there is a second flush whose leaves are also plucked. After about the fourth flush, it becomes necessary to hoe the ground again, when the plant renews its flushing as before; and so the hoeing, flushing, and gathering of the tender leaf, go on for seven months, the manufacturing season closing with the month of October. From October to the ensuing March the plant has rest; and indeed the garden itself scarcely needs any thing done to it now, for one might leave it altogether untouched during the cold season without detriment.

The question may be asked, Is it economical, in the long run, to gather leaves so early as the second year, and make so premature a demand on the productive power of the young plant? Mr. Fortune, whose we believe is the “Report on Tea Cultivation in the North West Provinces and the Punjab” in No. 23 of the Selections from the Records of the Government of India, objects to such a course as extremely prejudicial to the health and vitality of the plant.

“This, as I have already pointed out,” he says “is a very important part of the business, and requires to be carefully studied. Every vegetable physiologist knows that it is easy to render a plant unhealthy, or to destroy it

altogether by continually depriving it of its leaves. In my former report I directed attention to the bad system of taking too many leaves from very *young plants*, and stated that for the first two or three years, the leading shoots only should be topped in order to *form* the plants and make them *bushy*. This has been adopted in the Government plantations, and the good effects are apparent.

"But it is also necessary to bring the laws of vegetable physiology to bear upon plants which are fully grown. If too many leaves are annually taken from them, they will soon become sickly, stunted in appearance, and covered with dead branches. And thus the method adopted in order to obtain a large return, although apparently successful for a year or two, will in the end defeat itself."

It was, for some time, an invariable practice of the Assam planters, to suffer their seedlings to grow for three years before they attempted to pluck a leaf. But we believe the practice has been abandoned by them, as it certainly has by their Cachar brethren; and that for a very sufficient reason. In the Government gardens of the North West Provinces and the Punjab, the plant is not nearly so vigorous as in our Eastern Provinces. Plants in the North West take three years to attain the same growth that those in Assam and Cachar acquire in one, and this difference may surely justify the proportionately early plucking to which the latter are subjected. This difference of circumstance makes Mr. Fortune's observations altogether inapplicable to the practice of our Eastern planters. In respect of gathering the leaf, their plan is precisely that recommended by him, for they "top" the plants, that is, confine themselves to nipping off the stalks with their leaflets which are topmost. The plant makes up for this constant interruption to its growth in height by spreading out laterally and so becoming what the planter wishes it to become, bushy. The frequent plucking of its tender leaves through seven or eight months in the year, does not hinder it from blossoming or producing seed in its season. No function is interrupted, and the shrubs that have been longest subjected to this treatment, instead of showing symptoms of sickness or exhaustion, are among the most vigorous in the garden.

A word about the enemies of the tea plant in Cachar. The mere theorist, the man who has no practical knowledge of the risks and sundry contingencies attending the getting up of a garden, when making a calculation on paper of the outlay and returns, "has no consideration," says Lieutenant Stewart, "for 'the ravages of the peddle cricket, or for the appetite of the 'squirrel, or the mischief of the monkey! He does not think 'of herds of wild hogs and porcupines rooting out the plants, 'or of the wild buffaloes trampling them down!" But it seems to us that if the cricket, the squirrel, the monkey, the wild hog, the porcupine and the buffalo, were really to confederate to-

gether to stop the encroachments cultivation is making upon their hereditary domains, no amount of capital could save the unlucky planter from ruin. It is re-assuring to know that, with the single exception of the cricket, the Cachar gardens have suffered nothing from these animals. Even the cricket is an enemy only when the plant is just above ground. It does not seek the root, but bites the plant off level with the ground and drags it into its hole. The only remedy is to search it out, and kill it. Men are employed to discover its hole, and by frequent probings of the earth in its vicinity, to trace the direction of the hole as it winds about underground, until they reach its termination, where the cricket is sure to be found. Those who are clever at such work may follow up and kill a hundred crickets in a day. The Kookees who are more expert than others, will kill twice that number, and then eat them. As soon as the plant has grown three or four inches high, it ceases to be an object of attack. Still, the injury these little crickets are able to do to a young tea garden, is most serious, and hundreds of rupees have been spent only in the payment of coolies hired to kill them.

The only other enemy the tea-plant has yet had to encounter in Cachar, is the Ooloo grass, known among botanists as the *Saccharum Cylindricum*. It is a tall, strong, grass, used extensively for thatching purposes, and a most selfish monopolist of the soil in which it once takes root. It grows so rapidly as to leave but scant moisture for the tea, and not only thus starves it, but threatens, unless when most resolutely kept down, to choke it altogether. Planters have had recourse to various means to rid their gardens of this almost universal pest. Some, in their eagerness to arrest the decay to which their plants were tending, hastened to restore their vigour by means of oil-cakes, cow-dung and other manure. But if the manure strengthened the tea, it also strengthened the Ooloo grass, and the question how to get rid of the nuisance remained unsolved. Clearly it would be worse than useless to cut down the grass, for it is in the nature of grasses to grow all the more vigorously for frequent croppings, and the remedy would only produce an aggravation of the disease. The only resource is to hoe up the ground usurped by the Ooloo and so root it out. The plan is tedious, and involves extra labour and expense, but it is better than suffering the tea-plant to deteriorate and die.

There are three varieties of tea grown in Assam and Cachar; the indigenous, the China, and the hybrid. Between the indigenous tea of Assam and that of Cachar, there is no difference. When the Assam gardens first began to be worked, it was

necessary to import a large quantity of seed from China. The plants raised from this seed took kindly to the soil and climate of Assam, and have ever since contributed no small proportion to the out-turn of tea from the province. The China plant though hardy, and standing in need of frequent pruning, is not so leafy as the indigenous, nor will it, it is feared, live longer than fifty years, whereas the indigenous will live on almost for ever. It flourishes in Cachar quite as well as in Assam. The hybrid is an altogether new and interesting variety. It made its first appearance in Assam, where it attracted notice by being less leafy than the indigenous, but more leafy than the China variety. The seed whence it sprang, must have owed its origin to the fortuitous communication of the pollen of one variety to the stigma of the other. It is more productive than the China plant, and ever since its appearance has been diligently and extensively propagated both in Assam and Cachar. It is rapidly superseding the other varieties in the attention it receives from the planter, and promises to usurp the market. "It is doubtless the kind which will eventually be most prevalent in India."

The allotments of tea land in Assam being smaller than the grants that have been sought and obtained in Cachar, has suggested the question whether small gardens adequately worked, would not be more profitable than large ones. Some planters are in favour of a small garden, others of a large one; the pros and cons we will leave the reader to gather from a hypothetical case: I have a grant of 400 acres. The amount of labour I have at command I am free either to distribute over the whole extent of my land, or confine to the cultivation of only 200 acres. The number of coolies I can afford to entertain, will hoe the 400 acres four times within the year; but if I bring only half my land under cultivation, and retain the same number of coolies, I can have my garden hoed eight times, instead of four. The hoeing of the land imparts a stimulus to the plant, which has the effect of producing the "flushes" on which I am dependent for my tea, and if it were foregone, the tardy appearance and paucity of leaf-buds would leave me very little to pluck or manufacture. It is of the first importance that the hoeing should be kept up, at shorter or longer intervals, throughout the manufacturing season. Well then, if my two hundred acres are hoed eight times, they will yield more abundant flushes than if they had been hoed only four times; in other words, two hundred acres hoed eight times would yield about as much as four hundred hoed only four times. The number of trees distributed over a garden of 400 acres will be precisely double that occupying a garden of two hundred, consequently

the out-turns of the two gardens would be equal. But if the amount of labour I entertain is the same, and the quantity of tea I manufacture the same, where is the alleged advantage of the smaller garden? The advantage will appear in the saving that is made in the expense of picking the leaves. I shall require fewer people for this purpose than if my cultivation extended over the 400 acres. Of course the same number of men that I engage for the small garden, would also answer for gathering the leaf of the large one, if extra time were allowed them; but no such allowance can be made, for in this part of the business time is every thing. The delay of a day may sensibly affect the out-turn. If I assign two acres to a single man, and say to him, "Pluck the leaves from this acre to-day, and to-morrow 'do the other,'" he may find by the morrow, that the leaves of the second acre have already become unfit, because too old, to be plucked; and I may lose the entire flush. I must therefore have a man to each acre, and it follows that, for a small garden, I shall need fewer leaf-gatherers than for an extensive one. If, owing to the plentiful flushing of my 200 acres, I allow even more than one man to each acre, I shall still effect a saving worthy the consideration of those who would associate the largest return with the strictest economy in outlay.

We think that in the above case, we have represented the question fairly. If to the fact of the pecuniary advantage shown to be associated with a small garden, we add the other fact, that a garden of limited extent is more manageable and can be better superintended than one on a large scale, we have said enough to show, that in tea cultivation, as in every thing else, a little, thoroughly done, is more profitable than an extensive undertaking imperfectly and inefficiently conducted.

But before we pass on to other most important questions, let us turn aside, for a moment, to describe the manufacturing process. And first, as to the gathering of the leaf. This is confined to only three kinds of leaf; they are, the leaf-bud with the tender stalk that bears it, the leaflet just open, and the leaf next in size and age. All the other leaves remain untouched. The leaf-gatherers (many of whom, in Assam, are women,) begin their work at 6 o'clock in the morning. Nipping off the leaves we have indicated, with fore-finger and thumb, and throwing all three sorts indiscriminately into the basket or cloth intended to hold them, they pass from shrub to shrub, and row to row, till 11 o'clock when they cease for a couple of hours, and renewing their task at 1 o'clock, continue in the garden till 6 o'clock in the evening. As soon as the leaves are gathered, they are spread out in the sun, or if there be no sun, they are placed over

a slow charcoal fire, where they are gently heated. They are then brought away and rolled together with both hands for a considerable time, until they curl. After this, the oven meanwhile being well-heated, the leaves are thrown into a pan and placed on it, where they are ceaselessly stirred about till they are too hot for the hand to touch. They are then thrown out of the pan upon a table close by where they are rolled again. After having been transferred once more to the heated oven, they are rolled for the third time, and then left to dry over a charcoal fire. The tea is ready for use the moment it is taken off the fire; but as yet it is a mixture of three varieties, which must now be separated. The tea is put in the first place, into a sieve fine enough to prevent all but the smallest leaves, or leaf-buds, from passing through. The tea thus separated, forms the variety called Pekoe. It not unfrequently happens that during the manufacturing process, many of the large, or oldest, leaves get crushed and broken, so that in the sifting, the dust of these leaves falls through and mixes with the Pekoe: the variety so created is known as gunpowder tea. After the separation of the Pekoe, the rest of the leaves are transferred to a coarser sieve through which the middle sized leaves, the leaflet just open, pass. These make the Souchong. That which remains in the sieve, being the coarsest, is the Congou. Of course there are numerous other varieties known in the market, but these, as far we have been able to ascertain, are simply different mixtures in varying proportions.

To help our readers to form an estimate of the prospects held out by tea cultivation, they should know what the expenses of management and manufacture are. Let us try and calculate the cost up to the moment when the tea is packed and made ready for conveyance to the market. The expenditure may be distributed under the following heads; viz., hoeing and weeding, leaf-gathering, manufacturing, packing and superintendence. Take a single acre, you have a man to hoe it four times a year, and for each hoeing you pay Rs. 4, which is equivalent to an annual outlay of Rs. 16. The average annual yield of an acre (a very low average, by the way, for seven maunds would be nearer the actual produce,) is, say, four maunds of tea, or 160 seers. It follows that every seer costs, in hoeing, a fraction more than an anna and a half,—say, two annas. Now as to the gathering. Each leaf-gatherer plucks four seers of leaf in a day, for which he receives two annas, which is a day's hire. Four seers of raw leaf are equivalent to one seer of manufactured tea. The manufacturing of each seer costs, we will say, two annas, a proportion rather above than below the average rate now paid.

For the superintendence of the European planter, on the supposition that he is only the servant of a company, and for packing, another two annas would be a liberal allowance, as will appear from the following calculation. A garden of 400 acres, would, at the rate of four maunds an acre, yield 1,600 maunds, or 64,000 seers, which, divided by the one-eighth of a Rupee, or two annas, would give Rs. 8,000, an ample sum for superintendence and packing. Well then, every seer of tea, up to the moment when it is ready for the market, costs on an average,—

For hoeing	...	2 Annas.
„ leaf-gathering	...	2 „
„ manufacturing	...	2 „
Superintendence and Packing	2	„

Annas 8

The Assam tea, and the Cachar too, has sold in the London market at five shillings the pound, or five rupees the seer, giving a profit of four rupees and eight annas on every seer. But this is by no means clear profit. Freight is no small item. We have not taken into account the expense incurred in procuring labourers,—expense which will become considerable whenever the emigration scheme proposed by the Lieutenant Governor, comes into operation. Further, the time may be said to be at hand, especially in Assam, when the tea lands must begin to yield their taxes according to the terms stipulated for by the Government. In these days of railway extension and other public works, the price of labour, already risen, will be yet more seriously enhanced. But even with the enhanced price of labour, the future expenses of an emigration system, the taxes, freight, and other contingencies, tea planting must prove a gainful speculation. Contingencies involving more or less of loss there will be; for, particularly in Cachar where the cultivation is new, every planter must pay for the experience he acquires. We have heard what Lieutenant Stewart has told us, of squirrels, monkeys, herds of wild hogs, porcupines, and buffaloes. He continues his formidable summary of unpleasant contingencies in the following re-assuring strain:—

“He (the man who proposes to turn tea-planter,) has no idea of coolies taking advances and dying of jungle-fever, of breaking their contracts, being sold up, and fetching only two or three annas! He buys as stock, an elephant, at an unusually low price, to be sure, but with a perfect belief in its immortality! He builds mat houses, on the strictest of economical principles, but then he supposes them to be of corrugated iron! It is not possible for them to be burnt or blown down!”

No doubt money has been lost in this way in Cachar, and, until some system has been organized for importing labour into

the district, money will yet be lost in the matter of coolies ; but in admitting this we only admit that there are risks in tea cultivation as in every other enterprise. We feel sure however, that leaving out of account the capital sunk at the commencement in the plantation, tea planting, be it in Assam or Cachar, will, after paying the permanent establishment entertained by the factory, and the land tax, and all expenses of superintendence, hoeing, leaf-gathering, manufacture, and freight, yield a net profit of a hundred per cent.

All difficulties connected with the proper treatment of the tea tree may be regarded as already overcome ; the difficulties that still await solution, are those that relate to labour and transit. The want of labourers is more urgently felt in Assam than in Cachar, and in Cachar the planters are perplexed. The Asamese, we are told, is, in his own estimation, a gentleman, and above labouring for hire. His "fixed habits" in this respect are thus accounted for by Colonel Jenkins : "Before we occupied the country, hired labour was almost unknown, or confined to the Cacharees or other rude tribes unconverted to Hinduism, who were treated as serfs ; household labour was performed by slaves, and the agricultural labour of those classes who did not cultivate themselves, was either performed by slaves, or by neighbouring ryots who had the means, and who shared the products of the harvest in kind. It was thus considered disgraceful for the better classes, freemen and Hindoos, to hire themselves for labour, and they have always avoided being employed as coolies as far as practicable, by pleading their right of exemption as *bhalo manooses* or gentlemen." Every man has his little field where he is content to grow the crops that are to keep him in food for the year, and having occasion to buy next to nothing, is in no need of money, except it be for the payment of his land tax. When money for this purpose is wanting, one of the male members of the family will accept employment in a plantation and keep steadily to his work till he has gathered a sum equivalent to the tax that is to be paid to the Government ; he will then take his departure and not re-appear till the following year, when a recurrence of his necessity obliges him to renew his engagement with the tea planter. It is this state of things, probably, that suggested to planters and some Assam officials, the propriety of recommending an increase of the land tax ; for they hoped that the additional demand on the part of the Government, would induce the people to give some of their labour to the planters. But it was a recommendation which it was impossible for the Government of Bengal to entertain. We may distinguish, if we please, between immediate coercion and

the infliction of a pressure designedly calculated to produce the same result as coercion ; but, on the supposition that additional assessment would really have the effect of sending many of the natives to the tea factories, such a measure as that suggested, would, if not in the letter, still in the spirit, be manifestly oppressive, for it would deliberately provide for the sacrifice of the habits and inclinations, whether right or wrong, of an entire population, to the private interests of a few individuals. Observe, we have been arguing on the supposition that the increase of assessment would benefit the tea gardens ; that this benefit would really be so certain as was thought, we altogether doubt. The moment the tax was augmented, the people would extend their cultivation, not run to the planters for work. Why we think this would be the course they would prefer, will be clear to our readers when they have followed us through the next paragraph.

The question still remains, why do the people refuse to labour for hire ? There are some who think that their indifference to the planter's money, and refusal to extend even their own rice cultivation, are alike owing to the absence of proper communication between the interior, and the towns and chief markets of the province. The people, say they, may extend their rice cultivation ; but if there are no facilities for the conveyance of the extra grain to the large markets at Gowhatti and other places where it may find a sale, what good will the additional rice do them ? And the planter may come and offer them a very fair inducement to labour in the tea gardens ; but in their dense and impracticable jungles, of what use would any amount of money be ? To this opinion it may be objected that if Assam cannot boast of good roads, still the number of rivers and lesser streams that intersect the country in all directions, are quite sufficient for trading purposes, if the people only cared to use them. Granting nevertheless, that there is room for improvement in this matter, still, the simple want of further facilities does not adequately account for the want of industry or enterprise among the people. Nor can we accept Colonel Jenkins's statement that the "gentlemanly" prejudice of which he informs us, is the cause of their unwillingness to labour for hire. Whatever secondary influence it may have, we must, obviously, look beyond it for the true cause of the universal indifference to taking service. We think the secret lies in the fact that culturable land may be had to any extent. The population far from covers the country and waste land abounds. Now, we know that as a means of livelihood, agriculture always has the precedence of trades and professions. Men hire themselves to capitalists, have recourse to trades, and follow professions, only when land is not

to be had. As long as land is abundant and cheap, they will rather support themselves in independence by agriculture, than become the dependents and servants of others. This principle, which is of general application, may throw light on the habits of the Assamese. The population is not large enough for the country; the consequence is, that not only has every man a piece of land on which he raises his crops and lives in independence, but there is so much waste land still awaiting cultivation, that the population must increase vastly, before it is occupied. Till then, hired labour, professions, and other means of livelihood, will neither be cared for, nor sought after. The natural increase of the population has, for a long while, been impeded by the prevalent use of opium among men, women and children; and it will be some time more, before the effects of the recent restriction become palpable in their health and numerical strength. Meanwhile, we must look for an increase to the labourers who may be expected to be imported in large numbers into the province by the emigration agency now in contemplation. These coolies with their families, will appropriate large tracts of rice lands; and in the course of some years, we may hope to find the Assamese, compelled by the want of land to forsake their "fixed habits" and "gentlemanly" prejudices, gladly work for hire and engage in all the activities of trade.

Then, as to the prevalent use of opium in Assam. The people have hitherto been burdened by no Governmental restrictions in the use of this hateful drug. Indeed, the Government of Bengal, till very recently, distinctly refused to interfere to check the ruin it was working. The consequence is that the Assamese have been deteriorating physically, intellectually, and morally. The indigenous cultivation of the poppy has, for a long while, been all but universal; every man who had a rice field, also had a patch outside his door, set apart for opium. With no inducement to industry on the one hand, and an illimitable use of opium on the other, we cannot wonder that the Assamese have been reduced to their present low estate. It was high time that the Government should interfere; and we are glad to be able to record, that the order has already been promulgated, which utterly prohibits the cultivation of the poppy in Assam. There is no doubt that for some time to come, attempts will be made to grow it in secluded spots where it may elude the notice of the authorities; but if such attempts should occasionally escape detection, still, the evil as it at present exists, will have been effectually arrested. The Government opium will of course be supplied, but it will have to be purchased. The luxury will henceforward be an expensive one;

and being of necessity confined to those who can pay for it, the poorer people will be saved from contracting a most pernicious and accursed habit. Moreover, whatever means the men may resort to, to obtain the drug, it is gratifying to know that women and children will no longer be its victims. Whether the prohibition will have the effect of sending any of the people to the tea gardens, is another and more doubtful question. It has been in force only since May last, and some time must elapse before we are in a position to estimate its influence on the labour market. The probabilities of the case, however, are not favourable to the interests of the planters. Having all along derived their entire support from the cultivation of the soil, it is but natural to suppose that the people will seek to meet the additional expenditure occasioned by their having henceforth to buy their opium, by extending that cultivation, rather than hiring themselves to planters. The growth of the poppy has been interdicted; but the interdiction will be of no immediate or direct benefit to the tea cultivation of the province.

Meanwhile, the Assam factories extending over the districts of Kamroop, Durrung, Nowgong, Sibsagar, and Luckimpore, and comprising 7,599 cultivated acres which represent 12,05,689 lbs. of tea, are almost wholly dependent for labour upon a tribe of Cacharees who, emigrating from their native country, have for many years had their home in Kamroop and Durrung, districts on the northern side of the Berhampooter. Being suffered by the Assamese to monopolize the labour of the province, they have frequently shown a disposition to dictate their own terms to their employers. They are a whimsical race whom it requires consummate tact to manage; and their riotous conduct at Nazira when they endeavoured to extort higher and still higher wages by violent threats, until awed by the presence of the military, proves that they are capable of dangerous combinations. But even the supply of Cacharees is limited, and we have the unanimous assurance of the planters, that so far from hoping to extend their cultivation, it is the most difficult thing to work the gardens within their present limits.

Nor is the state of things much better in Cachar. "The whole population of Cachar male and female," according to Lieutenant Stewart, "adult and minor, is calculated at 150,000. 'Already upwards of 150,000 acres have been taken up for tea cultivation—and the lowest computation at which even the 'speculations of our friend the theorist can arrive, is that one 'man is required permanently for each acre in full bearing!

"Now, in a population of 150,000 souls, one-half may be calculated as females, and these are considered too valuable at home to be allowed to

work abroad in Cachar. Out of the remaining 75,000 one-half may be counted children under age, and we have therefore a population of only 37,500 men. Again the men in Cachar may be looked upon as the most independent set of natives in India! The larger number of them have each their separate homesteads, surrounded by groves of mangoe, jack, plantain and betel-nut trees, and from five to twenty acres of rice fields adjoining. They live like gentlemen farmers. They drive their own plough through an acre or two of their own land, and have the rest tilled by a class of people below them, who are in themselves perfectly independent, and who simply give half the crop to the landlord for the use of his land.

"Now, the landlords will not work for the tea planters. No not one, even although he holds no more than two acres of land, and has to cultivate all himself.

"He is an aristocrat, he has a title, he calls himself either a Chowdrie, or a Mozumdar, or a Luseur, or a Bhorbcoya, and is quite above that sort of thing. Nor will any Pycush or tiller of the soil, who tills five acres, work for the tea planter, simply because they have all that they want, and make more than labourer's wages.

"Planters can therefore employ only the refuse of the Cachar population for simple wages, and there may be about 5,000 men in the district to whom these wages, are at stated periods an inducement: but only at stated periods, for as soon as the rice cultivating season sets in, they are off to their small holdings of an acre or half an acre, and prefer labouring for themselves to doing the work of others."

So far as indigenous labour is concerned therefore, Cachar is no better than Assam, and that for the same reason, namely, that the population does not nearly cover the country. It has the advantage however, of being closer to the labour markets of Sylhet and other populous districts of Bengal, a circumstance which has saved the tea planters much of the embarrassment experienced by their Assam brethren. More than two-thirds of the coolies who find work in the Cachar gardens are people of Sylhet. A work of five or six hours, or at most a day, brings them over the boundary line between Sylhet and Cachar, to the gardens. Leaving home in the month of November, they come to the planter with whom they will remain till the following May; they will then go back to look after their own rice crops, and not re-appear till October. It is true that according to this calculation, they work for seven months in the year and are absent only five; but for four out of the seven months, that is, from November to February, the gardens require so little attention that they might almost be left to take care of themselves; whereas the five months during which the coolies are away, are five of the eight months which constitute the manufacturing season. We have already stated that the *bonâ fide* work of a tea garden begins after the first shower in March, and continues till October, so that the coolies from Sylhet, and even those had in Cachar, may be depended on for only three months of the season. It may be asked, have the planters done no-

thing to remedy this state of things? They have. Men are engaged by them to go out into the villages both of Cachar and Sylhet, making advances of money to labourers with a view to secure their services during the ensuing working season. As an advance is always a temptation to a native, this plan has to a certain extent answered its end, and the services of hundreds of coolies are thus obtained, whose absence would have entailed serious loss to the planters. But even the advance does not always ensure the labour. A coolie will accept it, but when the time to fulfil his engagement arrives, he will feign sickness; or after working in the garden for a month, he will make it appear that he is too ill to keep on, and for recovery must return to his own *dêsh*,—for what native ever got well any where but in his own native village? Thus contracts are often eluded, or but partially fulfilled; nevertheless, the advance does secure the services of a great many, and the system will be continued until some surer scheme for providing labour has been devised.

To ensure a permanent supply of labour, the Cachar planters have been trying to establish villages around their gardens. They have rented rice lands from the Government at the usual district rates, and offered them to native settlers on advantageous terms. According to these terms, every ryot is to have a gift of five rupees on settling down, a loan of ten rupees to enable him to purchase cattle with, and a certain extent of land which he is to occupy free of rent for the first three years. But so far as the planter's ultimate aim is concerned, this project has met with little or no success. Ryots most of the planters have,—ryots too, many of whom are honest enough to pay back, by degrees, the ten rupees advanced to them at the period of their settlement; but no wages will tempt them to work in the tea gardens. When they hold their land direct from the Government, they have the use of it free of rent for three years; but rather than pay the land-tax which becomes due after the expiration of the third year, they will remove to some other spot where, of course, they are again exempt from taxation for another term of three years. So they keep moving from place to place every third year, never paying a farthing of rent for the lands on which they raise their crops. And they find it convenient to serve the planters in the same way. Finding that they are not compelled to work in the tea garden, the planter's ryots confine their labour and attention to their own rice fields; within the three years that they occupy the land, free of rent, that is allotted to them, they pay off the ten rupees due to the planter, and at the end of that period, remove and settle down elsewhere. We are not aware that this has been the invariable

practice, and that there have been no exceptions among these ryots; but the fact that the practice is most common among the Cacharees and the settlers from Sylhet, makes the scheme for the establishment of villages around the factories with a view to obtain labourers for the gardens, very unpromising. The planters are for the most part sanguine men, and they still hope that in time their ryots will regard the tea and the liberal wages more favourably; but we confess we do not share their expectations. The only indirect benefit that has yet accrued from the presence of these ryots, and it may yet become an important benefit, is that the coolies who come to work in the gardens are able to buy rice of them on the spot. It has all along been found needful for the convenience of these men, that the planter should send for supplies of food from Silchar. Besides the expense attending this plan, delays frequently occur in forwarding the supplies, which create dissatisfaction; this trouble and expense will be saved when all the rice and vegetables that are required may be had of the ryots on the estate. But as yet, it has not been found easy to tempt ryots to settle down in the neighbourhood of the factories. As with the Assamese, so with the people of this province; they supply themselves for next to nothing with all they want; why should they labour? The betel-nut trees that grow around their dwellings, yield fruit enough to pay for the rent of their lands, so that all the grain crops are their own, and the profits derived from them are subject to no deduction. What inducement have such men to leave their native district, or if they are Cacharees, to forsake their homesteads, and establish themselves on new land and among strangers? This want of enterprise, this preference of idleness and an anna to labour and a rupee, is one of the "fixed habits" of the people, which the tea planter has to encounter and grapple with at every step.

It may be asked, cannot the Kookees be got to do the work? Their migratory habits are such that they cannot be depended upon. Besides, whatever lighter work they may agree to do in a tea garden, they one and all refuse to hoe the land. The Cachar Tea Company has a large village of them, but from all accounts, their presence is more a loss than a gain to the concern. The village is kept up in the hope, we believe, that they will, in time, be induced to undertake the heavier work of the gardens; but whether this expectation will be realized to any extent, is a doubtful question.

The importation of coolies from Calcutta has also been attempted, but with no very encouraging result. The mortality among the men, from fever and other causes, has hitherto proved a most discouraging circumstance. Of seventy coolies who

were brought to Cachar for one factory, only seven survive. The ratio, though not so alarming as in this instance, has been excessive among the bands imported by other companies as well. Perhaps coolies from Dacca and the low districts of Eastern Bengal, would keep better health than those who come from the West; but large numbers of them go to Calcutta in search of employment on the railways, whilst the comparatively few that remain behind, demand wages far higher than the planters can afford to give. The enormous rise in the price of labour in these parts, may be estimated by the fact that a coolie who four years ago was content to receive three rupees a month, now makes between six and eight. As the importation of labour from the Calcutta market appears now to be absolutely necessary to tea cultivation in Cachar, it becomes a matter of grave importance to inquire what special measures ought to be provided for the health and comfort of the numerous coolies that will have to be entertained.

The loss the planter sustains when he has not enough of coolies during the manufacturing season, is serious. The moment his trees flush, the young leaves must be plucked; and if there are not men enough to do it, the leaf by being kept a day too long on the tree, is apt to deteriorate and become unfit for manufacture. From March to October, the ground must be hoed once every two months, and if there are not men to do it, the trees will refuse their leaf and the out-turn will be next to nothing. These considerations, besides the general one that eleven or twelve thousand acres must not always remain the limit of cultivation in two such provinces as Assam and Cachar where more than four times the existing area ought to be made productive, make it a matter of imperative necessity that the planters should have an adequate supply of labour to rely on. Under these circumstances, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal has offered his aid in the organization and working of an agency in Calcutta to provide for the importation of coolies to the tea provinces, similar to that which sends labour to the Sugar-planters of the Mauritius. Such an agency offering liberal terms and conducted in good faith, ought to be successful, especially as it will have the advantage of not requiring the coolies to venture on the dreaded *kala panee*. They would be placed on board our steamers, and have a comfortable trip up their own native rivers, until they reached their several destinations in the tea provinces. Special inducements should be offered to those who have families, to emigrate with their wives and children; for not only would the women and grown children themselves represent so much additional available labour, but their presence

would overcome any reluctance the men might feel in renewing their engagements with the planter after the original term of service had transpired. Owing to the growing competition in the labour market, the planters will have to bid high, and concede not only fair, but liberal terms, without which coolies who can get work nearer home, will not agree to go to a part of the country not only remote, but notoriously unhealthy.

In Cachar, the means of intercommunication between the several factories and "the station," to which all the tea is, in the first instance, sent, present greater perplexities than the subsequent transit to Calcutta. With the exception of the undulating land and hillocks always selected for gardens, the whole country is nothing but marsh and jungle. In some few places, roads have been constructed, in others, elephant-tracks exist; but with these exceptions there are neither highways nor pathways, and a very little of the varied experience one acquires in a single excursion of any extent across country, will suffice to redeem travelling in Cachar from the charge of monotony. Now slowly winding through dense forests whose tangled branches obstinately withstand your progress; now crossing bottomless bogs where every attempt to recover yourself only serves to sink you deeper in the mire; now toiling through marshes infested with leeches and such like agreeable acquaintances; now tottering along crazy wooden bridges thrown over the countless *nullahs* (streams) that intersect the land; now wading a stream as the only way to get across it, and reaching the other side only to plunge into a fresh swamp;—on you move, till you at last espy the planter's bungalow, and begin to hope, that the heterogeneous experiences of the day, and its diversified perplexities, may close with a little refreshment and rest.

The manufacture in Cachar has not yet become so abundant, as to force the subject of transit to Calcutta on the attention of the planters. The numerous small streams communicating with one another and covering the land with their intricate net-work, offer no facilities for the conveyance of the tea to Silchar. The entire produce of the gardens has to be sent over-land to the station, where it is transferred to the native boats engaged to take it to Calcutta. But with the increase of out-turn, the inconveniences of the present mode of transit, as well from the gardens to Silchar as from Silchar to Calcutta, will be increasingly felt, and capitalists will become unwilling that their produce should be exposed to the serious risk of a tedious river journey of fifteen days or more, in native craft. Since speed and security are essential to all proper means of conveyance, the Cachar planters, we are sure, will soon feel, if they have not

begun to do so already, the necessity of roads from the interior of the district to the station, and of a steamer which shall go once or twice in the year to Cachar, and bring away the tea to Calcutta. A steamer visiting Cachar in the rains, in time to fetch away the manufacture of the first half of the season, might go right up to Silchar; in the dry weather, or in November, just after the close of the manufacturing season, it would not go higher than Luckye, but to this place the remaining half of the manufacture might be transported with ease.

The risk to native boats, in the Berhampooter, is greater than that incurred in any river between Silchar and Calcutta, and the time absorbed in transit from Upper Assam to Calcutta is fully three times that occupied by boats going down from Cachar. The one steamer a-month which just manages to stagger up to Debrooghur, does little beyond tantalizing the planters of that region. They are fortunate when they can ship a fraction of their tea on board of her. By far the largest part of their manufacture is sent down in native boats. The crying want of Assam, and we may add, of Eastern Bengal, is steamers. Any Steam Company that will undertake to work the Assam line, taking in the trade that flows through Serajgunge and Naraingunge, may calculate on declaring a dividend in the very second year, perhaps the first!

We cannot close without briefly adverting to the tenure on which the planters of Assam and Cachar alike, hold their grants of land. The term of each grant is fixed for ninety-nine years. One-fourth of the land thus appropriated, being supposed to be required for the erection of houses and embankments, the construction of roads and the excavation of tanks, is to be exempted in perpetuity, from assessment. The remaining three-fourths are to be held "rent-free for fifteen years, after which the land shall be assessed at three annas per acre for ten years, and for seventy-four years at six annas per acre." But the 7th section of the "Rule for the grant of waste lands" provides that, "one-eighth of the grant shall be cleared and rendered fit for cultivation by the expiration of the 5th year from the — 18 —; one-fourth by the expiration of the 10th year from the — 18 —; one-half by the expiration of the 20th year from the — 18 —; and three-fourths by the expiration of the 30th year from the — 18 —. On failure of all or any of these conditions, (the fact of which failure shall, after local enquiry conducted by the Collector or other officer, be finally determined, by the Board of Revenue,) the entire grant shall be resumed, and the grantee shall forfeit all right and interests in the lands, both those which may be yet uncleared, and those which may have been

‘cleared and brought into cultivation.’ At the time when the planters of Assam acceded to these terms, they had had no practical experience of the working of a tea garden, nor could they foresee the difficulty that would arise from the scarcity of labourers. It was a considerable while before any part of the land became productive; and since then, so far from having labour enough to extend the gardens, it has been a matter of the greatest difficulty to get and keep up a supply sufficient for the land already under cultivation. This is the dilemma in which the planters of Assam, and Cachar too, though in a mitigated degree, find themselves at the present moment. The conditions on which they have obtained their grants, only added, till recently, to their embarrassment; for unless the proportions of cultivation brought up to the requirements of these conditions the entire grants were liable, to be resumed, and the capital spent upon them, to be absolutely and hopelessly lost. Unwilling to lay unnecessary pressure on so promising an enterprise, the Lieutenant Governor, to whom the present position of the planters was described by a deputation, has given them the assurance that he will not enforce the conditions of the 7th section. The conditions have not, however, been withdrawn; and to obviate all future difficulties, the authorities of Assam have proposed that the planters should be permitted to redeem the tax upon their lands. They have suggested that if the planters paid at the rate of Rupees 2-8 an acre, in plots of not less than five hundred acres at a time, the sum so realized, with the interest that would accumulate on it, would relieve the Government from the trouble and expense of collecting a tax spread over a period of ninety-nine years, and deliver the planters from the ever recurring dread of resumption. But better again than the redemption of the land tax, preferable as this scheme is to the existing provisions, would be the permission to purchase the fee simple of the grants. Nevertheless, important as this subject is, we decline to discuss it at present; for, we feel, and we believe many planters participate in the feeling, that its discussion will be premature until the more pressing question of labour has been successfully solved. The redemption of the land tax and the purchase of the fee simple would alike require the present outlay of a large sum of money which will be a loss to the capitalist, if in the end, he is obliged to renounce his speculations owing to the want of labourers. Upon the success of some well advised scheme for the importation of coolies, depends the question, whether Assam and Cachar are to take their place side by side with China in the tea markets of Europe

and America, or whether they must always occupy the very subordinate position that is as yet theirs.

From a table drawn up by Colonel Jenkins we learn, that if the sixty-eight tea concerns of Assam were able to render the whole extent of their grants productive, we should have 54,859, instead of 7,599 acres under cultivation and yielding tea. The province would then produce "thirty millions of pounds of tea, or about half the quantity now imported into England yearly from China." In Cachar there are seventeen concerns, owning forty-two gardens; but scarcely more than 4000 acres are under cultivation. What the aggregate extent of the grants is, we have not been able to ascertain. It is well known, however, that unlike the Assam Companies, there is scarcely a concern in Cachar which holds a grant of less than a thousand acres. In Assam, the cultivation covers a little more than one-seventh of the whole extent of grants; in Cachar, it covers about one-thirty-seventh.* But in Cachar, as Lieutenant Stewart tells us, "there are yet thousands upon thousands of acres covered with indigenous tea," and "thousands upon thousands of acres of good lands, possessing the peculiar tea soil, upon which there is no indigenous tea, but which are more favourably situated."

When the difficulties which now clog the enterprise are removed; when labour is abundant, the land is secured to the capitalist, and transit is rapid, regular, and safe, neither British capital nor British energy will be wanting to make the abundance and quality of the export of our Eastern Provinces rival those of the Flowery Land. India will yet be famed as one of the World's Tea-Gardens.

* Lieut. Stewart says, "upwards of 150,000 acres" have been taken up with a view to cultivation. The fact is, thousands of acres which have been bespoken by various companies and private individuals, remain altogether untouched.

ART. III.—*On the Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection, or the preservation of Favored Races in the Struggle for Life.* By CHARLES DARWIN, M. A., &c. &c. London: John Murray. 1859.

EX ORIENTE LUX is a motto which would be very flattering to us as orientals, if we could occasionally apply it to our literary and scientific achievements. Excluding the specialties of oriental scholarship, our legitimate claims to the distinction have not we conceive been of frequent recurrence. In our eastern land indeed our shining lights are at least of average brilliancy, but their fame does not very often reach beyond ourselves, nor do their rays penetrate far enough to frequently gain the attention of Europe. It is indeed no easy task for us to keep pace with our European contemporaries weighted as we are in the race by all the disadvantages attendant on our exotic position. That Anglo-Indians do this at least, few will venture to deny, none more readily admit than ourselves; but the subject of this article entitles us, we think, to claim a leading position, not a place in the rack, in short to appropriate, in this case, our motto. We have to call the attention of our readers to a new light which, emanating from among us, has spread its rays far and near throughout the scientific world of Europe, which has been hailed by some as piercing the clouds of ignorance and prejudice, and disclosing a new path towards truth, scouted by others as the mendacious glare of fatal error, but received by all in a way which unmistakably shews that it has commanded universal attention at least.

Our share—only a share indeed—in this success, we claim on the following grounds.

Mr. Wallace, who was then, and is we believe still, occupied in investigating the natural history of the Malay Archipelago and whose labors in India are so honorably known to naturalists, sent home some time in 1858-59 a paper, which was subsequently communicated to the Linnean Society by Sir Charles Lyell, embodying certain general conclusions on the subject of the *Origin of Species* suggested to him by the results of his researches in this part of Asia, and especially by his explorations of that most interesting zoological province in which he was then engaged. That paper is the first and earliest statement before the public of the new doctrines contained in Mr. Darwin's work, who states in his preface that acting by the advice of his scientific friends, he thought he could not in justice to himself any longer withhold from the public a work to the

elaboration of which he had devoted many years, and which though not yet ready for the printer, afforded him materials for the abstract forming the present volume. Nor has our eastern claim to a close connection with this new natural history theory ceased here, for Mr. Blyth, another distinguished oriental naturalist, has been for years a co-laborer with Mr. Darwin in this very field of enquiry, and is spoken of by that author in several parts of his work in terms of praise and graceful acknowledgment which, however gratifying, cannot add to the well earned, high European reputation of the curator of the Asiatic Society's Museum. Thus two naturalists, labouring among us, have contributed directly to the elaboration of the theory contained in Mr. Darwin's book, and one of them indirectly caused its publication. We must not however be understood to evince by these remarks any desire to detract either from Mr. Darwin's own merits, by mentioning thus prominently the names of two of his distinguished colleagues, nor from those of his work by bespeaking attention to its contents on grounds other than its intrinsic value. On the subject of those merits and that value there can be but one opinion. The verdict of the great tribunal of European science cannot yet be given in, but whatever that verdict may ultimately be, whether Mr. Darwin's doctrines are to revolutionize our views on the fundamental laws of natural history, or to be considered only as hypotheses serving to systematize our existing knowledge, and stimulate research, the high fame of the author, the philosophical tone which pervades every page of his book, the names of the men already ranged as adherents and opponents in the discussion to which it has already given rise, at once stamp the essay on the Origin of Species as a production of no commonplace kind.

It possesses moreover the somewhat rare advantage of treating a profoundly scientific subject in a style which renders it approachable by, and appreciable to the lay mind. The reader who may be unskilled in botany and zoology will no doubt, at the close of many of the chapters, lay down the volume with the conviction that he is unable to weigh each portion of the evidence adduced, that he cannot assign to every fact the exact amount of importance to which it may be entitled in the argument, on which its bearing may be of the most complicated kind: and he will thus feel himself deprived of the pleasure of giving an unreserved assent to the propositions to which Mr. Darwin appends his Q. E. D.; but he can judge of the use made of those arguments and of the treatment of those facts, and he can exercise his judgment on the logic

of the reasoner: he can await the severe sifting, which he knows every statement will receive, and the rigid scrutiny to which every point of evidence will be submitted, by the hostile criticism of Mr. Darwin's opponents, and he can meanwhile enjoy the satisfaction of accepting or rejecting such links of the chain, of the argument at least, and of forming an independent opinion as to the final question involved.

This question is not a new one. The Origin of Species has been a frequent subject of discussion, but we may, without doing injustice to any of Mr. Darwin's predecessors, safely assert that it has never before been approached in a more impartial and philosophic spirit, never handled with an ability more capable of inspiring confidence, never illustrated by a fund of well digested knowledge so extensive, various and profound as that now brought to bear upon it.

To enter on the perusal of this work in a frame of mind calculated to do justice to both student and teacher, the former would do well to revert for a moment to the past history of science, and endeavour to realize in imagination the introduction of some of those great discoveries which have formed the landmarks of scientific progress; to study the reception with which some of those theories were at first met, which, showing the insufficiency or the errors of then universally accepted doctrines, were opposed by some of the most illustrious men of their time, and took long to establish themselves in the position of acknowledged truths. Axioms to us, the results of Galileo's labors did not at first convince men. The physicians of Harvey's time did not at once accept the circulation theory as a satisfactory explanation of many facts of observation then unaccounted for.

Many an astronomer was, we may be very sure, shocked at the comprehensive simplicity of Newton's way of accounting for the celestial motions, and clung fondly to the angelic agency of one of his predecessors, or the vortices of another, pertinaciously dwelling on the difficulties which the lunar calculations presented to the new theory.

It will be perhaps considered gratuitous thus to insist on a fact so notorious as the opposition any new hypothesis is sure to meet with from the vis inertiae of the human mind, an opposition becoming energetic in direct proportion to the amount of change in established eras likely to follow from the intrusion of the new one. Few will learn from the lesson suggested, the wisdom of patient impartiality, and we have little doubt but that Mr. Darwin will meet the fate of all innovators. There is however an instance which it may be well to mention, and which

may be considered *à propos*, as well because of the close analogy it presents to the case before us, as from the fact of its being within the recollection of many of our readers.

The publication of Sir Charles Lyell's "Principles of Geology" really revolutionised that science, and is justly considered as an epoch in its history. Even young geologists can remember the opposition roused by the enunciation of views now almost universally accepted as true. The "Convulsionists" no doubt yet exist as a school, even in England, and can still count in the yearly decreasing muster roll of their adherents, some great names; but these are in every case men who prior to the appearance of Lyell's work had publicly advocated views inconsistent with his, and were pledged to then prevailing theories: theories which will become fossil with the disappearance of their now living supporters. The convulsionists met Lyell's doctrine of the sufficiency of existing causes to account for all observed geological facts, by an appeal to great mountain chains, to inversions on the great scale of vast thicknesses of strata. Lyell's answer pointed to the elevation of a few inches in a century of parts of the Baltic coast, the few feet of oscillation in level which can be shewn to have occurred within historic times by the temple of Serapis, and he asked only for time—time for the accumulation of the results of changes small in themselves. Between this mode of reasoning and that followed by Darwin, there is the closest resemblance. He, like the illustrious geologist, makes the accumulation of small changes through great lapses of time the very essence of his theory. Each for his own special subject, brings the rich stores of knowledge gathered by years of patient labor to crowd his pages with the evidence which has convinced himself. Neither can (from the nature of the case) demonstrate anything with respect to the precise mode in which those phenomena were evolved, the causes of which he thinks he has discovered; each appeals to the cumulative effect of the balance of probabilities ever recurring in his favor; each points to the demonstrably vast results of causes whose existence and efficiency are visible, and asks why, with these before us, we should seek to account for facts by suppositions at least less probable, and whose very nature, if conceived at all, must be the creation of our own imagination.

Few men thirty years ago hesitated to believe that the geology of the Alps and the Pyrenees afforded clear proof of vast convulsions, undeniable evidence of violence of such magnitude as to have shivered the surface of our planet, if not shaken her to the core. Some still cannot accept as an

explanation of those facts, the statement that the scarce felt tremulous motion which marks the track of even our slightest earthquakes, may indicate movements which are now somewhere altering the relative position of great rock masses, however slightly, and which need only time to effect all that the Pyrenees, the Alps or even the still greater Andes and Himalayas disclose to us. Thus however reasoned Lyell, and if he has still opponents he has at all events lived to see his theory a fundamental doctrine of the English school of geology—the first in the world. Mr. Darwin is following in his steps in another branch of science. What the ultimate fate of his theory will be we think we can foresee. For the present however, all, save the very few who have been closely watching the workings of men's minds on the subject, to which he has himself devoted his life, will, we are prepared to see, find it difficult patiently to admit the proposition which Mr. Darwin believes he has established a scientific truth, to be even a legitimate subject of investigation or discussion; his conclusions will shock many a long cherished opinion, call into hostile opposition many a prejudice. He is not indeed himself very sanguine as to the reception he is likely to meet. Naturalists who have labored for years with the immutability of species as a fundamental article of their creed, will be slow to admit that the very basis of their systems is shaken, the conception on which all their classification rests is a myth, even although that classification will find in the new theory a sounder and more philosophic foundation. Younger naturalists will give it a fairer trial, a more impartial hearing. In the outer world it will meet with the fate common to all such efforts of intellect. We the crowd will follow our leaders, according it, on the one hand, an unreasoned praise, often founded on the most radical misconceptions of its very meaning, or branding it, on the other, with blame, due to an equally profound ignorance, or to self-love irritated by a fancied or real discrepancy between its statements and some of our pet prejudices. To this outer world it is that we address what we have to say about Mr. Darwin and his work, and we shall now endeavour to introduce both to our readers, so as to reduce to a minimum in this case the misconceptions on which the popular opinion of such subjects usually rest.

It is especially difficult to summarise the arguments of such a work as this—itsself a summary; and it is utterly impossible to do those arguments justice in an abstract; they are already condensed to the last limit of perspecuity. Compelled unwillingly to omit altogether the contents of several chapters from our notice, we shall compress our remarks on others within the

smallest possible space, and for convenience take them not exactly in the order followed by Mr. Darwin, but consider

1st. What may be called the *direct* arguments in favor of the theory.

2ndly. The indirect arguments—or its claims to acceptance, as *a priori* probable, and as superior to any other theory in accounting for observed facts.

I. Professor Horsley, in a lecture delivered before the Royal Institution, ably analysed the arguments in favor of the theory of natural selection. It must be treated as any other physical theory would be. Its logical requirements are two-fold. If it can be shown that, 1st, *bodies having all the characters of species are producible*: and that 2nd, *the conditions necessary for their production are operative in nature*—then Mr. Darwin's must be considered as a true theory of species. The rest of his argument, the apparently absurd extremes to which it leads, offer no difficulties to a naturalist, and are really only apparent; the whole question may be considered as centring in the *productibility of species*. Mr. Darwin first then proceeds to show how and to what a wonderful extent variability occurs under domestication, in both the animal and vegetable kingdom; an extent which he argues would unquestionably entitle those varieties, if found in the feral state, to the dignity of being classed as different species, or even different genera. He shows in his analysis of his famous case of the domestic pigeon, that these variations effect not only the apparently unessential characters of size, plumage and the like, but also the form and relative proportions of the different parts of the skeleton, and that they have acted on the instinct as well as on the physical structure.

"Variability is governed by many complex laws—by correlation of growth, by use and disuse, and by the direct action of the physical conditions of life. There is much difficulty in ascertaining how much modification our domestic productions have undergone, but we may safely infer that the amount has been large, and that modifications can be inherited for long periods. As long as the conditions of life remain the same, we have reason to believe that a modification, which has already been inherited for many generations, may continue to be inherited for an almost indefinite number of generations. On the other hand we have evidence that variability, when it has once come into play, does not wholly cease: for new varieties are still occasionally produced by our most anciently domesticated productions."

Man cannot *produce* varieties, or cause variability. Variability is in the nature of all living organisms; animals and plants when exposed to altered conditions of life vary; such is the law impressed upon them in the form of a power of adapting them-

selves to surrounding circumstances. Man sees in one of these variations something useful or agreeable to himself, he imitates the conditions, and thus unconsciously perpetuates a variety. Or he may proceed methodically; he may, acting on his experience of the possibility of transmitting peculiarities from progenitor to offspring, select the peculiarities he desires to transmit; the result in either case is the production of varieties, on which the process of selection in successive generations has stamped to a great extent the character of natural species. This is satisfactorily shown by the inextricable doubts common among naturalists as to whether very many of these are really varieties, or aboriginal species. Mr. Darwin considers the domestic pigeon as a case of many widely divergent varieties certainly descended from a single wild species, and the domestic dog as probably the produce of more than one such.

Thus far Mr. Darwin has shewn that varieties, having all the characters of species, morphologically considered at least, can be produced; this may we think be taken as demonstrated. The question of the physiological characters is more complicated—and we may admit at once that no proof has yet been advanced that varieties can be produced with the physiological characters of species, that is, which will not breed when crossed inter se, or whose hybrids are absolutely infertile. Mr. Darwin weakens the objection to this want of logical completeness in his proof, by showing that varieties (as hitherto described by naturalists) are not invariably fertile to the second generation, nor are species invariably sterile. He points out many reasons for thinking that this law of sterility is probably the result of causes not necessarily connected with what are called specific differences; he dwells on the futility of the negative evidence, and insists on the paucity of properly observed cases; in conclusion he asserts his belief that the tendency of the evidence afforded by hybridism, if not in favor of his views, is far from being conclusive against them, and affords no just ground for objection. We quite agree with Professor Horsley in allowing great weight to the arguments advanced by Mr. Darwin towards the removal of the difficulty above stated; and we concur in his stated conviction that judicious experiments would attain the result, namely would succeed in producing varieties, not only possessing all the morphological characters of species (as has already been done in the case of pigeons), but having also the physiological character, i. e. infertile inter se, or producing sterile hybrids; until however this has been done experimentally, or can be shewn to have occurred in nature, Mr. Darwin's argument must be considered, so far, logically incomplete.

The causes which have produced varieties under domestication (not being in any way artificial) must of course act in the state of nature also; the guiding hand of man will not be there to conduct them to this or that issue, but they will arise. That which in nature takes the place of this agency is what Mr. Darwin calls NATURAL SELECTION; and that which directs this all powerful guide, is the *struggle for life*. In one of the most interesting chapters in his most interesting work, Mr. Darwin gives us his view of the causes and effects, the actions and reactions, which go to make the victories and defeats of this never ceasing conflict. He points out that the rate of increase common to all organic beings is in geometric ratio; that this is so is capable of demonstration; but it follows that immeasurably more life is produced than can survive, is born than can arrive at maturity. Take any area, examine it from this point of view, and the result of the observation will be that the problem practically being everywhere solved is—which of the individuals shall survive, which perish; or extending the field of observation—which of several varieties shall extend the area occupied by it, and which shall suffer encroachment from its neighbours. The same of course with species, which shall conquer, or, being beaten, shall decrease in numbers, and finally become extinct. Under such circumstances it is self-evident that the slightest advantage will turn the nicely balanced scale. This advantage over surrounding competitors may accrue to the being, vegetable or animal, in an unlimited variety of ways, at any stage of growth, at any season, in any form, as a more complete adaptability however slight to physical conditions. Suppose that the power of variation, inherent in all living things, takes effect and produces a slight change; the very slightest such change of whatever nature is certain to be either beneficial or unfavorable to the recipient, if favorable to the prosperity of the organism under its then conditions, it must lead to victory, it must be perpetuated; if on the contrary it be unfavorable to the individual, it is equally certain of elimination. If the first *varying* organism succeed in leaving offspring, such offspring, inheriting the disadvantageous peculiarity, will infallibly not long survive. Such is the unerring result of this struggle for existence of which every habitable spot on our planet is the theatre, at every moment of time, an endless conflict leaving the strong to flourish, and inexorably destroying the weak; the words *weak* and *strong* being (as implied) understood to mean only, less or more perfectly suited to surrounding conditions. We above remarked that the causes which have produced *variation* under domestication, not being due to, but only

taken advantage of by man, must of course occur in nature : on this point we find Mr. Darwin's writing as follows :—

“ It has been often asserted, but the assertion is quite incapable of proof, that the amount of variation under nature is a strictly limited quantity. Man, though acting on external characters alone, and often capriciously, can produce within a short period a great result by adding up mere individual differences in his domestic productions ; and every one admits that there are at least individual differences in species under nature. But besides such differences, all naturalists have admitted the existence of varieties which they think sufficiently distinct to be worthy of record in systematic works. No one can draw any clear distinction between individual differences and slight varieties, or between more plainly marked varieties, sub-species, and species. Let it be observed how naturalists differ in the rank which they assign to the many representative forms in Europe and North America.”

Such is the basis of the theory—variability under domestication, variability under nature. The variation if not useful to the being under its excessively complex relations of life, is certainly checked—if beneficial, it is as certainly preserved, and transmitted to offspring, such variations gradually accumulating by inheritance, until in the lapse of time, wider and wider divergence from the parent stock results. “ What limits,” asks the author, “ can be put to this power acting during long ages, ‘ rigidly scrutinizing the whole constitution, structure and ‘ habits of each creature—favoring the good, and rejecting the ‘ bad ?” After reading Mr. Darwin's chapter on the subject we think we may assert that he who would definitely answer this question must look far indeed.

We have pointed out the weak point in Mr. Darwin's theory, and what is still wanting to make it completely satisfactory as an explanation of the origin of species ; but it must be remembered that the stronghold which he attacks is by no means in a good state of defence. When naturalists speak of varieties and species, they mean that the former are due to second causes, unexplained, but probably conceived to be analogous at least, if not similar to those insisted on by Mr. Darwin, while the latter have been asserted, almost universally to require a special act of creative power. And still, notwithstanding that the supposed origin of the two is so widely, so wonderfully different, the line separating them is absolutely undiscoverable. What is called now a variety, will to-morrow be called a species, the species of one naturalist is the variety of another. The physiological definition cuts both ways, for independently of the strong probability established in favor of the belief that we could experimentally produce from races, varieties with sterile hybrids, and that sterility is admitted to be of all degrees, are we to say that varieties whose hybrids are

sterile *inter se*, should be called species, or to assert that species whose hybrids are fertile should be called varieties?

This uncertainty on a point which *a priori* ought to be supposed capable of strict and satisfactory explanation, is more than unsatisfactory. Many distinguished naturalists think that Mr. Darwin has but given the *coup de grace* to the long prevalent doctrine of the immutability of species. To them the rest of Mr. Darwin's views will, we believe, present no very great difficulties, startling as they may and will appear to the unscientific public. "I can" he says "believe that all animals have descended from 'almost only 4 or 5 progenitors, and plants from an equal or 'lesser number; analogy would lead me one step farther, namely to believe that all plants and animals have descended from 'some one prototype, but analogy may be a deceitful guide." We venture to advise the non-scientific reader to consider Mr. Darwin's theory of the Origin of Species by itself, and to satisfy his mind, if he can, as to its truth or falsehood, that is, the essential part of the theory taken as a whole, and represented in the above bold assertion. We will only add that if the mutability of species be admitted, there seems to us to be absolutely but one other condition necessary for the acceptance of the whole, namely time; but then, time measured as astronomy measures space, letting tens of centuries become the equivalent of an inch in the estimation of sidereal distances.

II. We now come to the consideration of the indirect arguments in favor of the theory, and have still before us perhaps the most striking portion of the volume. Strictly speaking the theory must stand or fall by what has gone before, if the conditions stated as necessary for a satisfactory theory of the origin of species be not fulfilled, nothing which could be added is capable of making it so; if they be fulfilled nothing in the way of confirmation is necessary. Those claims to acceptance which the learned historian of the inductive sciences speaks of as concilience of evidence, are most valuable as showing that we have not misinterpreted or overstrained the evidence adduced; and in as much as they will have force in proportion to the doubts which we may entertain of our own powers of estimating that evidence, their influence with the general reader will be equal to, or perhaps even greater than, that exercised by arguments resting on that evidence itself.

If a theory based on reasonings and proofs derived from the examination of one set of facts, be found, when applied to a totally distinct set of facts, to agree with and explain them too, it will be at once perceived that the probabilities of such a theory being a true one are greatly increased. Moreover each recurrence

of evidence of this nature, each new difficulty—now contemplated in the original reasonings—which is found thus explained, must, from the nature of the case, carry great cumulative weight. In this branch of his subject Mr. Darwin is specially successful. The new theory of course at once removes the difficulty, above stated, which naturalists find in laying down any line of demarcation between varieties and species, by stating such demarcation to be non-existent in nature. Of course if every species first existed as a variety, and is in fact only a variety become more permanent, no such line ought to be expected to be definable.

It is a well known fact that in a zoological province where “many species of a genus have been produced, and where they now flourish, these same species always present a correspondingly great number of varieties.” On the supposition that species derive from ancestors specially created, and that varieties are the unstable results of accidental and second causes, what is the meaning of this fact? Why should species A present several varieties in a district where a dozen or twenty species of its genus are present, and only one or two varieties in one where no more than four or five flourish?—there is no conceivable connection, at least none has ever yet been suggested. The new theory however meets such a case fully. It most naturally follows that when circumstances have favoured variations from type the tendency to vary should continue active, a tendency well known in the products of domestication; or in the words of Mr. Darwin “where the manufactory of species has been active, we ought to expect as a rule to find it still in action.” Here the species are the most divergent and probably the oldest of the varieties.

Why, on the supposition of special creation, should the species of those larger genera which embrace many varieties, themselves retain more the character of varieties than the less numerous species of smaller genera, among which few varieties appear, that is, why should species of large genera differ less *inter se* than those of small genera? Strange mysterious relations, resting we may be quite certain from analogy, on some sure and simple basis, utterly anomalous when considered by the light of the theory of creation of species; explained most simply by Mr. Darwin's theory.

“As each species tends by its geometrical ratio of reproduction to increase inordinately in number; and as the modified descendants of each species will be enabled to increase by so much the more as they become diversified in habit and structure, so as to be enabled to seize on many and different places

‘in the economy of nature, there will be a constant tendency in
‘natural selection to preserve the most divergent offspring of
‘any one species. Hence during a long continued course of
‘modification the slight differences, characteristic of the varie-
‘ties of the same species, tend to be augmented into the greater
‘differences characteristic of the species of the same genus.
‘New and improved varieties will inevitably supplant and ex-
‘terminate the older less improved and intermediate varieties;
‘and thus species are rendered to a large extent defined and dis-
‘tinct objects. Dominant species belonging to the larger groups
‘tend to give birth to new and dominant forms: so that each
‘large group tends to become still larger, and at the same time
‘more divergent in character. But as all groups cannot thus
‘succeed in increasing in size, for the world would not hold them,
‘the more dominant groups beat the less dominant.” We sug-
gest to our reader a very attentive perusal of this passage.
Groups must increase in size, and diverge in character; increase
implies extinction, a lot which must of course fall on the tran-
sitional, less thoroughly modified, that is on intermediate, forms.
A gradual transition from one species to another is thus avoided,
while the arrangement of all animated nature into group under
group is the necessary consequence of descent with modification.
How is this wonderful fact of the grouping together of all or-
ganic beings to be explained on the theory of creation of spe-
cies? All analogy teaches us that the explanation offered by
our theory is consistent with what we know to have been the
plan of creation in other fields of action.

The new theory shows how modification by descent will ac-
count for our finding “a bird formed like a woodpecker, prey-
‘ing on insects on the ground, upland geese, which never or
‘rarely swim, having webbed-feet, a thrush diving, and feed-
‘ing on sub-aquatic insects.” But can we conceive the crea-
tures *created* with those structures and for those habits? How
strange that the inhabitants of a country, animal or vege-
table, if really created for the special locality, should be sup-
planted and exterminated by colonists artificially introduced
from another and distant land, the special and very different con-
ditions of which they had been created expressly for. Is it pos-
sible to really believe that if created as supposed, many creatures
display what may fairly be called defects of contrivance, and in-
completeness of adaptation? Guided however by the light of
the new theory, we need not marvel at the sting of the bee
“causing the bee’s own death: at drones being produced in such
‘vast numbers for one single act, and being then slaughtered by
‘their sterile sisters: and at other such cases. The wonder in-

'deed is, on the theory of natural selection, that more cases of 'the want of absolute perfection have not been observed.'

The discoveries of science have ever tended to bring to light more and clearer proof of design, to make plainer the meaning, as it were, of nature. It has been among their noblest triumphs to show how this or that apparent anomaly existed only through our ignorance and was not intrinsic in the facts themselves. How emphatically it may be asserted that Mr. Darwin's theory does all this we have perhaps said enough to prove: but bewildered by the numbers of such cases before us, we know not which to choose; one or two more however we must add, referring the reader to the work itself for fuller statements.

The case of rudimentary and abortive links is certainly a most inscrutable mystery on the supposition of specific creation. What can be the meaning of useless and superfluous appendages like the inefficient wings of the cofferhead duck? How explain the occasional blindness of certain borrowing animals, the habitually sightless eyes of others, the absolute blindness of the inhabitants of dark caverns. Mr. Darwin however shows us how use develops and disuse aborts organs, and how such effects of use and disuse are inherited and transmitted by descent. How in short these facts are parts of a perfect system and not exceptions to a great law.

Again, among the species of the horse genus stripes of color are occasionally detected on the shoulders and legs, and specially noticeable on the hybrids of those species. Among the domesticated varieties of the rock-pigeon species, the bars of color on the tail occasionally re-appear, and commonly so when two very divergent varieties are crossed. Now how is the former fact to be accounted for on the supposition that the species of the horse genus were each created separately, how simply explained if we consider those species only more long established varieties.

If species were separately created, why should specific differences be any more variable than generic: peculiarities to wit, common to many creatures, more stable than peculiarities common to fewer? Why should any particular part, developed in an unusual degree in some peculiar species, and therefore, one may naturally conclude, specially created for the benefit of, and specially useful to that species, be eminently subject to variation? What finally is the meaning of extinction of species? This subject has led naturalists to the wildest speculations on the analogies supposed possibly to exist between the life of a species, and that of an individual, and on the decay of vital power; but granting that this gratuitously assumed analogy exist, what are we to say

to the strange fact that the fossil remains of extinct beings found in each formation, are in some mysterious way, intermediate between those of the preceding and those of the succeeding periods? Or how comes it that some long extinct organism is found to be intermediate between some two existing and distantly allied groups; and why is it that the more ancient the fossil is, the more frequently this strange relation is apparent? Often have the geologist and the naturalist pondered in wonder over these mysterious facts, others have thus talked of the archetypic system, the plan of nature, &c., but what plan so completely fulfils all the requirements of the case, as that developed in Mr. Darwin's theory, that all those groups are connected by descent?

We cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of closing our examination of this section of the subject with a quotation.

"The framework of bones being the same in the hand of a man, wing of a bat, fin of a porpoise, and leg of a horse, the same number of vertebrae forming the neck of a giraffe, and that of an elephant—the similarity of pattern in the wing, and leg of a bat, though used for such different purposes—in the jaws and legs of a crab—at once explain themselves on the theory of descent with slow and slight modifications:—and on the principle of successive variations, not always supervening at an early age, and being inherited at a corresponding not early period of life, we can clearly see why the embryos of mammals, birds, reptiles, and fishes should be so closely alike, though so unlike the adult forms."

Such are the claims of Mr. Darwin's theory on what we have called indirect grounds. We have been forced in our attempts at condensation to omit much which he has admirably set forth, and we can only add that we find it difficult to conceive the existence of such a mental condition in any moderately cultivated intellectual being, as that on which such claims will fail to produce a strong impression. A very considerable space is occupied by Mr. Darwin in considering the difficulties in the way of his theory; he meets, and satisfactorily (as he thinks) accounts for many of these; but we cannot follow him here further than to say that he never seems to treat any one of these lightly, but on the contrary gives to each the most careful and important consideration; and we think that the spirit in which this part of the enquiry is conducted is likely to leave the strongest impression on the reader's mind in favor of the honesty, and truly philosophical impartiality of the theorist; while he cannot fail to be astonished at the vast and varied stores of knowledge brought to bear on the all embracing subjects discussed, and to be charmed by the graceful and perspicuous style of the language in which these are laid before him. We will quote one passage. Among the difficulties which he experienced in attaining a thorough

conviction of the truth of his theory, he mentions the existence of "organs of extreme perfection and complication," and as an instance of such he takes the eye, of which he writes :

"To suppose that the eye with all its inimitable contrivance for adjusting the focus to different distances, for admitting different amounts of light, and for the correction of spherical and chromatic aberration, could have been formed by natural selection, seems, I freely confess, absurd in the highest possible degree. Yet reason tells me that if numerous gradations from a perfect and complex eye, to one very imperfect and simple, each grade being useful to its possessor, can be shown to exist : if farther the eye does vary ever so slightly, and the variations be inherited, as is certainly the case : and if any variation or modification of the organ, be ever useful to an animal under changing conditions of life, then the difficulty of believing that a perfect and complex eye could be formed by natural selection, though insuperable to our imagination, can hardly be considered real."

It is however in the geological records of the past that he recognizes his greatest difficulty. If his theory be true, ought we not to expect to find there a perfectly graduated series of varieties, linking together, by however long a chain, the most divergent forms of existence? That nothing distantly approaching to this is found, Mr. Darwin at once recognizes, and he labors through many pages to show that we ought not to expect to find it. Those great teachers of geology, who for the glory of their prescience, have sown broadcast ideas, more or less exaggerated, of the amount and exactness of our knowledge of life in bygone ages, are responsible for grave misrepresentation, if Mr. Darwin can establish his views of the *incompleteness of the geological record*. If their confidence be well founded, Mr. Darwin can scarcely stand. For ourselves, although we are unable to advance anything which we consider in any degree conclusive against our author's views on the subject, we must confess ourselves incapable of the philosophical effort implied in the sacrifice, at once, and without a struggle, of the rooted convictions of years ; this bigotry may be highly illogical, and will not we trust be imitated by our readers, but our well grounded confidence in palæontology, though we admit perhaps overstretched, peremptorily forbids our submitting to consider it henceforth as the "science which teaches us our ignorance of extinct forms of life." We quote a few eloquent lines embodying Mr. Darwin's views. After telling us that each formation does "not mark a new act of creation, but *an occasional scene taken from a slowly changing drama*," he goes on ; "I look at the natural geological record as a history of the world imperfectly kept, and written in a changing dialect ; of this history we possess the last volume alone, relating to only two or three countries. Of this volume only here and there a short chapter has been pre-

‘ served: and of each page only here and there a few lines. Each
‘ word of the slowly changing language in which the history is
‘ supposed to be written being more or less different in the in-
‘ terrupted succession of chapters.”

In the frame of mind natural to the most painful of intellectual predicaments, namely being convinced against our will of the instability of a long cherished ground of confidence, we shall now proceed to point out what we consider to be blemishes in the work, in matters not essential to the argument.

While enforcing his views of the incompleteness of the geological record, Mr. Darwin states his belief that from the oldest geological times with which the very lowest fossiliferous beds bring us into contact, the oscillations of level,—the changes from sea bottom to land, and back again—have effected only those portions of our earth’s surface which are now *continental areas*: that is, existing dry land, and the adjacent seas. In support of this proposition, nothing even distantly approaching to satisfactory evidence is attempted to be adduced; true it is only mentioned as an hypothesis, but we doubt if an assumption so gratuitous can add anything to the argument it is brought forward to confirm.

Again in speaking of the gradual improvement of the telescope as an illustration of what he conceives to have been the action of natural selection in bringing the eye to perfection, we think the analogy he seeks to establish fundamentally vicious. His metaphor personifies natural selection, presiding at each experiment, “intently watching each slight accidental alteration,” scrutinizing the result of every trial, rejecting the bad, and surely recognizing the good. Now we submit that the analogy between the optician, and natural selection, cannot hold if the “slight changes” are spoken of as “accidental”; the experiments of the optician are made with an object; he hopes that, by increasing the convexity or diminishing the thickness of a lens, he may attain some object which he sets before him as desirable; his combination may, or may not, produce the anticipated result, or the result when produced may not, realise his expectations; we take exception here because we believe it to be important to guard against confusion of ideas arising between Mr. Darwin’s theory, and the antagonistic doctrines of Lamarck. The illustration of the optician would have aptly fitted the views of the latter philosopher. He held that progressive improvement was a law of nature, which *did* act as it were experimentally, and with ulterior results in view. Mr. Darwin on the contrary means by *improvement* only more complete adaptation to surrounding conditions, and includes degradation,

as well as exaltation within the results of ever acting variation; as for example when disuse produces abortion of the eye or the wing or of any other organ. Let the slight changes, be then accidental, that is to say, themselves the results of the great law of variation, and accidental only in reference to the results which may ensue; but let us make the analogy correct by supposing the optician before a glass furnace, seeking material for his lenses among pieces of glass, made from ingredients of which he knew nothing, taking up at random a piece of flint glass, then a piece of brown glass, then a piece of plate glass, scrutinizing the properties of each, putting each to the particular use it is best fitted for, and *irrespective of the result on the final perfection of the telescope*, producing an achromatic lens with its good qualities of one kind, and failings of another. The result of his labor would thus have tended towards the improvement of the telescope in a way analogous to what Mr. Darwin states the action of natural selection to have been. It is of course unnecessary to add that the march of mechanical improvement has rarely indeed taken such a course; our object is to avoid confusion of the apparently slight, but really fundamental distinctions, between the two theories of the origin of species.

Again Mr. Darwin's calculations of the lapse of geological time, and especially what he says of the denudation of the weald, seems to us unworthy of other portions of his work; besides which, we rather distrust all such calculations, including those presented by Professor Phillips in his address as President of the Geological Society, and which have appeared in the last number of the *Society's Quarterly Journal*. Efforts to insist on the immensity of duration implied in observed geological facts will certainly be misapprehended by the non-geological reader, and, *pace* the illustrious President of the Geological Society, we will venture to promise that in the long run they will be found superfluous to the geologist.

Having briefly noticed the difficulties which Mr. Darwin himself discusses, and having offered a few words of criticism on what we conceive to be blemishes in his treatment of some sections of his vast subject we will now venture, at the risk of being charged with offering an insult to the good sense of our readers, to caution them against a kind of criticism which a work like this before us is eminently calculated to evoke. We know how easy it is to misrepresent any statement detached from its context; a link taken from any chain of reasoning, but more especially from such an one as this, may with extreme facility be made to appear weak in a detached position; we will

give an instance of the application of this to Mr. Darwin's book.

In a chapter discussing *transitional habits*, after heaping example on example, and producing by the assemblage of cumulative evidence the strongest impression on the mind of the candid reader, he proceeds as follows:—

"I have often watched a tyrant flycatcher (*Saurophagus sulphuratus*) in South America hovering over one spot and then proceeding to another, like a Kestrel, and at other times standing stationary on the margin of water, and then dashing like a king-fisher at a fish. In our own country the larger titmouse (*Parus major*) may be seen climbing trees almost like a creeper: it often kills small birds by blows on the head; and I have many times seen and heard it hammering the seeds of the yew on a branch. In North America the black bear was seen by Hearne swimming for hours with widely open mouth, thus catching, like a whale, insects in the water. Even in so extreme a case as this, if the supply of insects were constant, and if better adapted competitors did not already exist in the country, I can see no difficulty in a race of bears being rendered, by natural selection, more and more aquatic in their structure and habits, with larger and larger mouths, till a creature was produced as monstrous as a whale."

Here is a notable opportunity for the exercise of that peculiarly shallow wit which, on the principle of taking a brick as a specimen of a house, triumphantly refutes Mr. Darwin's theory by ringing the changes of ridicule on the closing lines of this passage; "what!" our imaginary critic will exclaim, "a bear swim about with his mouth open till he becomes a whale! very like one indeed!" We will not wait to enquire whether our case be wholly imaginary, but we may remark, that a long course of systematic neglect of logical thought, and a simultaneous cultivation of prejudiced argumentation, is capable of leading to the most monstrous results, even in the individual, and without taking into account the possibility of the transmission by descent of those curious, though unhappily not rare, deviations from the ordinary type of *homo sapiens*. Repeating our apology to the reader for supposing him to stand in need of a caution so superfluous to any reasonable and impartial mind, we shall now pass to another branch of this subject.

It has surprised us to find that Mr. Darwin has been spoken of by some of his critics as a disciple and imitator of Lamarck, and his work stigmatized as a *rechauffé* of the *Vestiges of Creation*: In some of the cases alluded to, there is unfortunately little room to doubt that there has been a motive behind this apparent mistake, and we need not hesitate to assert that this motive has been supplied by the desire to set in motion against Mr. Darwin the engine of religious prejudice, and rouse in opposition to his theory the odium theologicum attaching to the name of Lamarck. Many will, we fear, take the accusation as proved, who

would be uninfluenced by the motive which prompted it, and aware that the errors of Lamarck have long since been refuted, lay aside unexamined what they will prejudge on the strength of the above statement. Claiming for our author all that he claims for himself, namely, an impartial examination of his arguments, it becomes important to point out the injustice of this allegation. Let us for convenience sake take this proposition, that "all 'organized life had for starting point one original organism of 'the simplest kind.'" Both Lamarck and Mr. Darwin hold some such creed, each has presented us with arguments which he believes establish its truth: these arguments constitute their respective theories. In *limine*, we find them at issue: Lamarck concerns himself with the *act of creation* while Mr. Darwin never approaches it; the former discusses spontaneous generation, the irritability and non-irritability of primordial monads, their combination according to a law of progressive advance, so as to form a simple cell, &c. &c.; the latter in the spirit of philosophical research, has perceived, and respected the limits to which inductive reasoning extends; he knows that the first origin of organized life is, and must ever remain, beyond those limits; all observable facts of natural history, disclosed to us in the present, or in the records of the past history of the earth, have been well called its autobiography; our author does not, like Lamarck, misconceive this truly philosophical conception, and expect to discover there, anything about *birth*—the origin of things.

One would fancy that this single radical difference might have spared Mr. Darwin the accusation of being an imitator of Lamarck, but there are differences as broadly marked at every step. The basis and essence of Lamarck's theory, as indeed the name by which it has come down to us sufficiently indicates, is the doctrine of *progressive development*; higher forms are evolved out of lower, by a law which is of the highest universality. Mr. Darwin on the contrary—arriving at no such law—directly states that it cannot exist; proves that his process of natural selection includes descent; as well as ascent, in the scale of nature: indeed he deprecates too trenchant an application of these terms, terms essential to the very conception of Lamarck's theory; he tells us that "recent forms are generally looked at as being, *in 'some vague sense, higher* than ancient and extinct forms, and 'they are *in so far higher* as the later and more improved forms 'have conquered the older and less improved organic beings, 'in the struggle for life." The italics are ours. Nor does Mr. Darwin leave us in doubt as to what he means by such terms as *higher, lower, strong, weak, more improved, less improved*, on the

contrary, he over and over insists on his interpretation, viz., *more or less perfectly adapted to surrounding conditions.*

These discrepancies are wide enough, as is also the following. Lamarck laid down that "organization is the result of function," and moreover mystified this doctrine by a confused version of a theory of "second causes." Mr. Darwin writes, "it is difficult 'to tell, and *immaterial to us*, whether habits generally change 'first, and structure after, or whether slight modifications of 'structure lead to changed habits; both *probably* often change 'almost simultaneously."

That is to say, Mr. Darwin, altogether omitting the wild speculations which form the basis on which Lamarck's theory rests, directly stating that Lamarck's first fundamental law is inconsistent with facts, and adding, as above, that the second law of progress of his predecessor, is immaterial to his own theory, is nevertheless an imitator, and his work but a re-chauffé of Lamarck's.

Well may Mr. Darwin (assuming that every reader would at once perceive that his theory was, as it is, subversive of, and inconsistent with, that of Lamarck,) after pointing out at considerable length, how certain facts in insect life (instinct, and neuter-insects) were in accordance with his own theory, write—"I am 'surprised that no one has advanced this demonstrative case of 'neuter insects against the well known doctrine of Lamarck."

If imitations consist in re-asserting a proposition which a predecessor failed (or whether failed or succeeded) in establishing, in refuting his errors, and by a totally different process establishing his conclusions, then why is Newton not called an imitator of Kepler? Kepler, in his famous laws, asserted the facts of celestial motion, his theory was that those facts were to be explained by supposing them to be performed under the guidance of animal life, or angelic superintendence. Newton re-asserted the facts, but *his* theory supplied a different account of the causes in action. In what has Mr. Darwin come nearer to Lamarck than this? The electric telegraph communicates between two distant points, saving the conveyance from one to the other of a written message—so did the Semaphore; is the latter ever spoken of as a rechauffé of the former? No doubt both Mr. Darwin and Lamarck do connect the first dawn of life with the world of organized existence around us, but *therefore* to say that their means of doing so are the same, that their theories are identical, that the later is a rechauffé of the older and its author an imitator, seems to us pre-eminently characteristic of the honesty and logical acumen of a school whose philosophy consists in damning unheard whatever does not flatter

their prejudged conclusions, and remorselessly rescinding all that stretches beyond the limits of their Procrustean scale.

We have insisted somewhat at length on this subject, because among the many notices which have appeared on the subject of this work we have seen the accusation made, but nowhere repelled. The motive we have above attributed to the accusers shows that we are aware no appeal to reason can reach them; but we trust that what we put forward will free our author from the risk of being condemned unheard by impartial men, who might have been influenced against our author by the knowledge that Lamarck has really been refuted. For the rest we are well aware that not only the theory of Lamarck, but also the proposition which that theory failed to establish, has come down to us branded with the anathema of religious criticism—religious prejudice will still have its quarrel with Mr. Darwin, apart from Lamarckism. Prejudice is powerful from its frequently very close resemblance to honest conviction; the fruits of reasoned belief and of unreasoned belief mix together, undistinguishably too often, in the minds of all of us. The common duty of all is to reject the dross, and retain the pure ore; and it is to the spirit of candid enquiry that we now earnestly appeal, to an unflinchingly honest scrutiny of facts and reasons and to the rigid exclusion of all foregone conclusions.

This is not the place for a lengthened discussion of the serious questions involved in an examination of Mr. Darwin's conclusions from a religious point of view. Acknowledging however the existence of the difficulty, we will state our own conviction that it needs only to be fairly faced, to disappear; and we will briefly state our grounds for this conviction. What is in fact the difficulty with which we really have to do? It may be thus stated: Mr. Darwin says that species, as we see them, were not *created* in the ordinary acceptance of that term: Scripture says "Male and female *created* he them." If then some simple, straightforward, and plain reason for believing that the ordinarily accepted meaning of the word create, has no necessary application to the passage, our author stands condemned *in foro ecclesiae*.

Premising (as we have already shown) that Mr. Darwin never approaches the subject of *creation*, in the sense of *origination* or first causation, but simply takes it for granted, we may ask what is it that we do understand, or imply to have taken place, when we assert that a being has been created, formed out of the dust of the ground and vivified, or as Eve, made from some part or parts of a previously existing being. The species spoken of as *created* may then have been the product of previously existing organisms. With the subject of miracles we have here no-

thing to do. It has been well remarked that preservation is as great a miracle as creation; what concerns us is that the passage above quoted should to the unprejudiced reader be capable of interpretation consistently with the belief that species were evolved by a gradual process, and not suddenly introduced by a single act. Why then need we suppose that when existing species first assumed their present forms, there was any *direct* interference of creative power: is the *indirect* action of power less miraculous?

Why may not the latter have rendered the former unnecessary, by the use of those secondary causes, commonly spoken of as laws of nature, causes which we certainly know to have been the efficient means of their preservation and increase up to this day. In what do we force on the words "male and female created 'he them'" any improperly limited interpretation, by holding with Mr. Darwin that the great command "increase and multiply" included the evolution of new forms, and by thus exalting our conception of the act of creation, by as much as the making of a man is a greater effort of power than the act of making a watch? Any one familiar with the writings of P. Smith, Hitchcock, Hugh Miller, and other Biblical geologists, will not accuse us of stretching the meaning of the words—whether they may approve of, or condemn the conclusions—as far as those savans habitually do—we cite their authority only because we enter on their grounds of argument and we do this, because we think we can show that religious prejudice only, and not religious convictions, will stand between Mr. Darwin's theory and acceptance among religious men. His denial of special creation of species, instead of being antagonistic to, nobly encourages the loftiest and grandest conceptions of Divine power.

Before quitting the subject we will quote some remarkable lines from the writings of one of the most profound of contemporary thinkers, taken from works published before the appearance of Mr. Darwin's book, and approaching this subject from a different point of view from his. Of the creation of species this writer says* :—

"The only question is as to the sense in which such change of species is to be understood—whether individuals, naturally produced from parents, were modified by successive variation of parts, in any stage of early growth or rudimental development, until in one or more generations, the whole species became in fact a different one; or whether we are to believe that the *whole race* perished, without reproducing itself, while, even during its continuance, independent of it, *another new race*, or other new individuals (by whatever means) came into existence, of a nature closely allied to the last, and differing often by the slightest shades, *yet unconnected with them by descent*: whether there was a continuation

* Unity of Worlds, 2nd Ed., p. 421.

or propagation of the *same principle of vitality* (in whatever germ it may be imagined to have been conveyed) or whether a *new principle* or germ originated independently of any preceding, *out of its existing inorganic elements*: to which the principle of vitality (in whatever it may consist) was superadded in some way as yet unknown."

Quoting from Professor Owen the same author, farther on, writes* :—

"To what natural laws, and secondary causes, the order by succession and progression of such organic phenomena may have been committed we as yet are ignorant. But if without derogation of the Divine power we may conceive the existence of such ministers and personify them by the term *nature*, we learn from the past history of our globe that she has advanced with slow and stately steps, guided by the archetypal sight, amidst the wreck of worlds, from the first embodiment of the vertebrate idea, under its old Ichthyic vestment, until it became arrayed in the glorious garb of the human form."†

"To this noble passage I cannot forbear adding the single comment that, according to my view, not only *without derogation of the Divine power*, may we entertain the ideas so beautifully expressed : but if there be any truth in what has been before advanced, so far from anything *derogatory*, such a view constitutes the *very proof* and manifestation of that power and is just what enables us legitimately to trace its operations—as along we can worthily trace them—in the indications of law and unity, order and system : while without such evidence of Universal Mind and Supreme Reason, arbitrary intervention might be only irresistible fate, and sudden revolutionary change and convulsions, only atheistical anarchy."

One more quotation and we have done : the same writer in another work, alluding to this subject says‡ :—

"But the successive introduction of new species of organic life, in the epochs of past terrestrial changes, are imagined by some to be instances of direct intervention. In the first place such commencement of new forms of existence were events not arbitrary, nor disconnected, but regularly recurring in successive epochs, always connected with other physical changes going on in these epochs, however little the laws connecting and regulating them are as yet known. But this mere fact of the frequent *regular* recurrence of such changes proves distinctly that they were not casual *suspensions or interruptions* of the *order of nature*, but *essential parts* of it. As indeed is rendered more undeniably evident by the circumstance that they were in every instance not isolated acts but the *commencement* and establishment of a series of *simply natural results*—and *succession* and *continuance* of the species so generated, by ordinary natural causes.

"On all sound inductive principles these events must be held to have taken place in strict accordance with natural laws, and with the regular order of physical causes, however little we may at present be able to trace precisely what the laws of their production actually were : and even without alluding to any theory of development, we must look to some GREAT UNKNOWN LAW OF LIFE at which the permanence of species under certain conditions, is only a subordinate part, and particular case."

* Unity of Worlds, 2nd Ed., p. 477.

† Owen on Limbs, Cit., p. 86.

‡ The Order of Nature, p. 252.

This "*great unknown law of life*," Mr. Darwin has, we think, discovered, and on so truly great an achievement we heartily congratulate him, rejoicing at the same time that men of science among us have shared in its elaboration, and that from the East its first light dawned upon Europe.

We have been led into the discussion of the application of our author's theory to prevailing religious doctrines only by his critics. Nothing in the work itself would have invited such a discussion. By broaching such topics we have opened the floodgates, and know not how far we may be carried. An excellent comment is suggested by our difficulties on the pre-eminent prudence of Mr. Darwin's reticence. Certainly the wise and the honest way to proceed in all such matters is to confine physical research, and inductive science strictly within their own domains; if properly conducted they *must* lead to truth, they ever have and always will do so. Why then this nervous anxiety about the bearing of Holy Scripture on these things? Can truth be inconsistent with itself? Shall we the sooner reap the fruits of our laboriously sown seed, if we pull up the little plants to measure their tender roots by some typical scale of perfection? Such considerations no doubt have suggested the course followed by Mr. Darwin and by far the larger number of the most distinguished men of science of our time; indeed they go further, as a rule, and seldom trouble themselves to reply to attacks made on them from under the shield of religion, too often borrowed for such an occasion by persons not otherwise familiar with its use. Unwarned by the example thus set us we have thought it right to descend into the arena and defend (as we think) the right, but to have done this completely it seems to us that there is still one question to touch upon, one doubt whereon to throw what light we can.

It will unquestionably have suggested itself to the reader that Mr. Darwin's theory cannot be supposed to stop short where he has left it. If, as he says, analogy would lead him to reduce the origin of all organic existence from eight or ten, to a single, point, what about the other end of the scale? What of Man? It will be recollected that Lamarek was reviled as a misanthrope because he, unlike Mr. Darwin, *did* entertain definite opinions, and did expressly teach that man too was but a link in the long chain of progressively developed life.

We are left to draw our own conclusions as to what Mr. Darwin would say on this question, and, judging as best we may, we venture to suggest that he might, in accordance with the spirit of philosophic induction which seems to us to have been by him so rigidly followed, have pointed out that, consi-

dered only as an animal, man's superiority to the brutes would not imply any necessity for reserving him from the category. Perhaps from man to the highest ape may not be a gap wider than may elsewhere in the sequence be naturally accounted for. The *animal man* has much in common with other animals, and *in so far as we thus* examine him we see nothing to leave a broad line of demarcation open. Man's physical development, even his intellectual nature, *may be* but questions of degree, and may be treated as *legitimate* subjects of *inductive enquiry*; but here we come to a great gulf; the *very reasons* which render it illogical to stop short of the point we have reached, peremptorily forbid a single step farther, and for this simple reason, that man's *moral and spiritual nature* takes us to subjects *radically* and of their *very essence* different. A very elemental condition of physical knowledge is requisite to avoid the attempt to measure heat with a cup, or a liquid with a footrule; childish as the illustration may seem, we conceive that the absurdity implied is surpassed by those who apply the machinery of inductive science to the discussion of the problems suggested by man's moral and spiritual nature. He is made in the image of God: not his animal structure and functions, they are of the earth; but his spiritual being belongs to a *totally different order of things*, apart from, and belonging to new and distinct regions, transcending all material ideas. To clearly lay down the limits of the legitimate field of inductive enquiry, and rigidly to adhere to those limits, is an example of the wisdom which renders to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, well assured that by doing so we take the first step towards rendering to God the things which are God's. It carries its reward with it—obedience to our Creator's laws always does—in the satisfaction ever renewed, with which each fresh proof of HIS greatness is hailed, unalloyed by the miserable scepticism which, fettering Scripture with the ignorant interpretations imposed upon it by the insolent assumption of self-infallibility, has ever raised the cry of antagonism between the Word of God and the Book of Nature. These, as Archdeacon Pratt so eloquently teaches us,* “emanate from the same infallible author, and therefore cannot be at variance. But man is a fallible interpreter, and by mistaking one or both of these Divine Records, he forces them too often into unnatural conflict.” Let us thus combining “reason with a humble mind and a patient spirit” seek truth and truth alone: moral and spiritual truth where alone it can be found, in the infallible guide given us by inspiration for *that* purpose, and physical truth in its own appropriate records.

* Scripture and Science Not at Variance. J. H. Pratt. 3rd edition, 1859.

- ART. IV.—1. *The Life of the Right Rev. DANIEL WILSON, D. D., late Lord Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India, with Extracts from his Journal and Correspondence.* By the Rev. JOSIAH BATEMAN, M. A. (In two vols.) Murray: London. 1860.
2. *Sermons and Tracts*, by DANIEL WILSON, M. A. (In two vols.) London: 1825.
3. *Sermons*, by DANIEL WILSON. 5th Edition, 1832.
4. *Letters from an Absent Brother*: by DANIEL WILSON, M. A. 3rd Edition, 1825. (In two vols.)
5. *The Evidences of Christianity*: by DANIEL WILSON. 4th Edition, 1841. (In two vols.)
6. *Two Charges, delivered at the Primary Visitation*, by D. WILSON, D. D., Bishop of Calcutta. (Madras.)
7. *Charges delivered at the Second, Third, &c. Visitations: and also various occasional Sermons.* (Bishop's College Press.)
8. *Sermons delivered in India 1834-6*; by DANIEL WILSON, D. D. (Third Edition, 1840, Bishop's College Press.)
9. *Sermons on the Lord's Day.* (London: 1830.)
10. *Lectures on the Epistle to the Colossians.* 1844.

MR. BATEMAN had an extremely arduous office to discharge when he became his father-in-law's biographer. We are glad to say that he has done his work with great care and diligence, with a fair amount of abstinence from irritating topics, and with no attempts to set him up as the idol of a party. His moderation has been already rewarded. Almost every section of the Church at home has received his volumes in a friendly spirit. High-Church Journals like the *Guardian* and *English Churchman* have spoken in terms of frank admiration of the doings of one who for half-a-century had been the recognised champion and choregus of evangelicalism. This is all as it should be. Truth has been spoken, and yet charity not violated.

We are far, however, from thinking this *Life* perfect as a Biography. On the contrary we view it simply as a collection of "*Memoires pour servir.*" This may not be felt by the few attached friends, who, like good Bishop M'Ilvaine,* read it "in

* "I am reading day by day the most profitable Life of Bishop Wilson. I take it in daily portions, because it is too good and searching and weighty to be read in the ordinary way—and would be passed through too soon." (Extract of a letter in the *London Record*.)

daily portions": but most readers will feel that the story of Daniel Wilson's life would have been more effectively told in half the number of pages. We do not think the worse—but all the better—of a man, because he is unable to write any other than a provisional memoir of a near relative. He is almost certain to print (partly from a mistaken notion of 'candour,') what had better for ever remain "*intra penetralia*;" and yet his representation as a whole will err on the side of extravagant admiration. We predict that when *the* life of Bishop Wilson appears, it will not exceed *one-third* of the bulk of the present one; and that the rescissions will be in something like the following proportions,—three-fifths of the first volume and three-fourths of the second.

Meanwhile we propose in the present article to lay before our readers a sketch of the most salient points of the Biography, interspersed with references to the Bishop's own writings and with such occasional remarks as may help our readers to form a truthful picture of the man. We shall write nothing (need we say?) inconsistent with the most unfeigned respect and affection for the memory of one, who, from the bright example he has left behind him of piety and beneficence and diligence and self-sacrifice, is, and will remain, one of the greatest benefactors of the Indian Church.

Before beginning our narrative, however, we think it well to dispose at once of a point which might otherwise hamper our course. It is this. Whilst always kind-hearted, and generally courteous, he often raised a prejudice against himself by a peculiar *mannerism*, which amounted almost to "eccentricity:" and along with this there was sometimes a *directness* of personal remark, which, but for the earnestness of the man and the dignity of the Bishop, (for he rarely failed to maintain that,) would have been thought rudeness.

Now, if we are not much mistaken, this defect was very much attributable to his early intercourse with Mr. Newton, Mr. Cecil, Mr. Rowland Hill, and others; who had a remarkable talent for giving utterance to pointed and graphic illustrations of truth, couched in rough, homely, language. Such a talent is a dangerous one, if not guarded by tact and delicacy. It is strongly allied to what, in its ordinary exhibitions, is called *humour*; which is, in fact, in many cases, only a method of escape that certain keen and powerful minds resort to, when brought in contact with folly and weakness;—the way they take of bridging over the chasm which they see yawning between their *will* and their circumstances, their *principles* and their position, their views of *ideal excellence* and their actual experi-

ence of imperfection in themselves or others. Now the manner in which we allude to arises from the same general habit of mind *operating in religious matters*. It comes in as a mediating element, when the mind, earnestly bent on setting forth high spiritual truth, is also intensely practical. It is a sudden self-recollection, when one who has been soaring aloft in elevated contemplation is reminded of the claims of earthly business. It is a *condescension* to the more ignoble part of life;—the explosion of fervid sentiment when brought into proximity to cold, secular, concerns;—the struggle of conscientious conviction to work outwardly in a sphere which it knows it *ought* to occupy, but which is not congenial to it, and in which, consequently, it does not move with ease or grace or comfort.

That characters of this kind belong to what is (abstractedly viewed) the *highest* order of mind, we are far from maintaining. There are calm, self-possessed, souls, that move about among men with a lowly dignity that seems never to fail them; and such are often found to exercise great influence on minds otherwise inaccessible. In a recent debate in the House of Lords, Lord Ellenborough,—on whom Bishop Wilson made no impression,—is reported to have said that “if the policy under debate (the Metropolitan Churches’ Bill, we think,) had received—as was stated—the sanction of the late Archbishop, (Howley,) he should vote for it unhesitatingly; as that prelate seemed to him to have come nearer perfection than any human being he had ever known.” But then, this kind of influence, however penetrating, where it does act, seems from its nature to be limited to a very narrow sphere of operation. It does not reach the great majority of the busy world. From the time of Socrates to that of Abernethy, some degree of rough, caustic, remark has helped on the effect of remedial prescriptions—moral or physical. If Socrates had not “gone about like a gad-fly, stinging the citizens with his questions ‘about self-knowledge,’”* he might have been more beloved,—but would he have done so much good to Athens? May we not say the same of the *æstrum*-like, pertinacious repetition, with which the late Bishop of Calcutta inculcated on all around him his lessons of religious truth? He was never weary of returning to the one important point:—What is your state of heart before God? All else—and of course, therefore, mere social amiableness—seemed in comparison but “one grand impertinence.” Yet no man had a higher esteem, in general, for *les petites morales*, than he.

* See Plato’s Apology.

With this preliminary explanation we proceed to carry out the programme announced above.

DANIEL WILSON was born July 2, 1778. His father was a silk-manufacturer in Spitalfields. His mother was the daughter of Daniel West, who had been one of Whitfield's trustees. This may explain what he tells us in a memorandum drawn up late in life—that his parents were “a loose kind of church people,” going to Mr. Romaine's church in the morning and *the Tabernacle* in the evening. At ten, he was placed in a private school under the Rev. J. Eyre; who is reported to have said of him, “There is no milk-and-water in that boy; he will be ‘something either very bad or very good.’” After remaining there four years, he was bound apprentice to his uncle, a wealthy silk-merchant in Cheapside; who was “a strict churchman,” and a regular attendant first at Mr. Romaine's church and afterwards at Mr. Cecil's. Young Wilson had all along been religiously brought up, and could talk freely on theological topics; but, as he advanced into life, he found that he had no practical hold on religion. He fell away into sensuality, hushing his conscience with the excuse that “it was out of his power to do anything.” This has too often been the effect produced by an unguarded preaching of predestinarianism: and it is noticeable that in after years he always retained a salutary dread of Calvinistic refinements.*

So matters were going on, when—in his eighteenth year—an incident occurred that changed the whole current of his life. We must allow him to tell the story himself. (The account is taken from a letter which he wrote to a friend, Nov. 29, 1796.)

* One evening (March 9th, 1796) I was as usual engaged in wicked discourse with the other servants in the warehouse, and religion happening (humanly speaking, I mean) to be started, I was engaged very warmly in denying the responsibility of mankind on the supposition of absolute election, and the folly of all human exertions, where grace was held to be irresistible. (I can scarcely proceed for wonder that God should have upheld me in life at the moment I was cavilling and blaspheming at his sovereignty and grace.) We have a young man in the warehouse whose amusement for many years has been entirely in conversing on the subject of religion. He was saying that God had appointed the end—He had also appointed the means. I then happened to say, that I had none of those feelings towards God which He required and approved. “Well, then,” said he, “pray for the feelings.” I carried it off with a joke, but the words at the first made some impression on my mind, and thinking that I would still say, that “I had done all I could,” when I retired at night I began to pray for the

* See especially his paper on *Crude Theology* in the CHRISTIAN OBSERVER for 1814.

feelings. It was not long before the Lord in some measure answered my prayers, and I grew very uneasy about my state.

This is by no means the only instance on record, in which an apparently simple remark has overturned an elaborate theory. It is not, indeed, always easy to analyse such cases; but we do not doubt that if we *could* analyse them, we should always find in them a due relation existing of means to ends. For instance, in the above account, we have evidently *one* moral means, at work,—the consistent character of the young man who made the remark. But, however this may be, the effect produced by so seemingly inadequate a cause was deep and lasting. He at once entered upon a serious and practical inquiry into religious matters.

In a letter written on the third day after (March 11) to his old tutor, Mr. Eyre, he puts a question which shows how real his fatalistic convictions had been. “What I think that I most want to know,” he says, “is; whether a conscientious reformation of my outward life is in the least accessory to my future safety?” There is *reality* stamped on a query like that. The same most hopeful symptom is visible also in a letter which he wrote shortly after to his mother. It begins:—

‘I have received your letter, and would answer in sincerity your solemn query, How is it between God and your soul?’

‘What shall I say? How is it between the great omnipotent God, the creator and preserver of my life, in whom I live and move and have my being; and the soul of me, a worm of the earth, who exists only at His will? Awful thought!’

‘But this is not all. How is it between a just and holy God; a God of infinite purity, and my soul, full of corruption and pride? How can I answer such a query?’

He would not reply to the language of conventional religion used by his mother, until he had laid it out in a form which he was sure had an appreciable meaning to his understanding. We shall probably not be wrong, if we attribute to this marked feature of his mind—its habitual Reality—much of the influence which he afterwards wielded as a preacher and as a man.

Another striking characteristic shows itself in the same letter. It concludes: “Oh! may the word ETERNITY never enter my ears without impressing my heart.” Few men have had so vivid a sense of what is implied in that word; it seemed ever present to his thoughts,—engraven on his inmost soul.

As our chief object in this sketch will be to bring out to view the true character of the man,—to exhibit the principles that made him what he was,—we shall not scruple (when necessary) to quote illustrative passages from his Life or his Writings, though this may give our criticism somewhat more of a theolo-

gical air than is common in these pages. This is inevitable from the nature of the subject. We wish to paint the true man,—DANIEL WILSON,—and he *was* what his religious convictions made him. His work through life was to bring religious motives to bear on the consciences of men : and he so thoroughly identified himself with his work, that it is impossible to separate *him* from his *theology*. This was what inspired him, and gave him the power he possessed.

Now of all practical religious ideas the most fundamental is the one we were speaking of. Ignatius Loyola was, so far, not wrong when he made his probationers spend a month in meditation on Death, Judgment, Heaven, and Hell. What the *Spiritualia Exercitia* inculcated as a matter of necessary drill or discipline, the future Bishop of Calcutta was led to, in a freer way, under the ministry of such men as John Newton and Thomas Scott.* It would be easy to show by quotations extending over sixty years, what a predominant hold the thought of Eternity had on his feelings. We give a few as specimens.

The following is from a letter which he wrote, while an undergraduate, in 1801, but which might be supposed to have been written half a century later ; so thoroughly does it resemble his later style both of thought and expression. "To you, my friend, who have now entered into the vineyard, what shall I say? May every happiness, and every blessing, and every good be yours. Be faithful, be fruitful. Time is short. The Lord is at hand. Eternity approaches. Watch and pray. Let not your heart fail, for Christ is your helper. Be not puffed up, for you are ignorant and powerless. Do all things as if the Judge was standing at the door."

In 1822 he writes to a friend, from a sick chamber : "I write badly, because I cannot sit up. The world is passing away. Eternity (and how eloquent is that word now to me!) is drawing nigh. Nothing affects me but that which appertains to the kingdom of God."

In 1823 he writes from Lyons : "Time carries us away as a flood. Souls are passing into Eternity. Judgment is near. All is mere trifling compared with Eternal Salvation."

At an hotel in the Canton Valais he copies out a printed paper which he found hanging up in the publication ; of which the following is an extract : "O Eternité, seule digne de nos pensées et de nos soins ! Seule oubliée et négligée de la plupart des hommes...O Eternité ineffable, Eternité incompréhensible,

* In his *Fourth Charge* p. 38, he speaks of the debt he owed to Mr. Scott "for the guidance of his mind from 1796 to 1798." Mr. Bateman does not notice, or throw any light on this.

qui mesurera ta profondeur ? Qui sondera tes abîmes ? Des millions de siècles, redoublés autant de fois qu'il y a d'atomes dans ce vaste univers, ne sont rien au prix de l'éternité. Après ces revolutions de siècles innombrables, il restera encore une Éternité toute entière. L'Éternité seule ne passera jamais... *Veillez donc. Priez sans cesse. Travaillez avec crainte, avec tremblement à la grande affaire, à l'unique affaire, de votre Éternité.*" One might almost suppose he had written, instead of copying, the last lines. They are precisely in his style.

In his "Evidences of Christianity," (published in 1830,) he says: "What ETERNITY means, I know not;—how much is comprehended in that word, I know not;—whither it stretches, what it involves, what relation it bears to time, what are its continually augmenting benefits of joy or depths of misery, I know not,—imagination cannot conceive, words cannot express."*

We make these quotations, because we are persuaded that they supply the key to the interpretation of his character and influence. He was not a *learned* man, in the higher sense of the word,—nor, strictly speaking, an *eloquent* man,—much less a man of *Philosophy* or *Science*,—he was not, eminently, a *popular* man. His strength lay in his deep and calm realization of the Eternal World. He thus drew men, by force of sympathy, out of their ordinary devotion to things of Time, and sustained them, for a while at least, in an atmosphere of purer feeling:—and they knew that this was the greatest of possible benefits, and honoured and loved him, on account of the good he did them. It is true that such an all-absorbing sentiment presenting, as it does, to most men the appearance of violent and unnatural effort, *ought* not to be needed. Time ought to run *naturally* and easily into eternity. But it is not so; for man is no longer in his natural state. Man's world is in disharmony with the Divine Law; and, so long as this is the case, those who are employed in drawing it back to its right position, must be in an extraordinary degree penetrated with a sense of the nearness of that unseen world to which others are so unnaturally dead.

But we must return to the history of the change, which occurred in his eighteenth year, and which to most Indian readers, we imagine, is one of the most interesting parts of Mr. Bateman's two volumes. We, who knew him in the less demonstrative part of life, delight to trace the growth, in their more

* For other passages of a similar, or even more striking kind, see his *Sermons and Tracts*, vol. 1. pp. 439 and 563. *Farewell to England*, p. 40. *Pastoral Letter*, 1842, p. 3. *Fourth Charge*, p. 68.

impulsive state, of those principles, which we had seen working in the grooves of long-formed *habits*. The mannerisms of the old man of eighty somewhat overlaid, perhaps, the reality of character, which appears so fresh and energetic in the youth of eighteen. We are glad to have the veil lifted up.

In his darker days, he had been at least true to his doctrinal theory, (though not to his conscience.) He was persuaded of the utter impotence of man to take so much as a single step in the way of salvation;—and he carried out his fatalism to its legitimate issue. He would not engage in what to him seemed the mockery of prayer. “Prayer,” he said, “rose as high as the ceiling.” But when once his belief was altered, and he felt that prayer ascended into the presence of Him that “inhabits Eternity,” *he acted accordingly*. His cousin Joseph, who at that time lived in the same house and shared his room, says that “night after night he saw Daniel sitting up for hours reading God’s Word, and other religious books:” and that frequently, after he himself had fallen asleep and awoke again, he found his cousin “on his knees in long-continued and earnest prayer.”

This habit of prayerfulness continued with him through life; and, perhaps, in the minds of those who saw much of him it remains as the *most* distinguishing feature of his character. We remember an old Indian chaplain’s saying to us many years ago; “The Bishop has, I conceive, done me a serious injustice; but I will say this of him, he is a man who *lives very near to God*.”

In a letter written in 1798, young Wilson observed; “The dying words of Mr. Hervey are much on my mind;—‘If I had my life to live again, I would spend more of it on my knees.’”

His biographer says of him; “The clue to all the success of his public efforts was easily traced, by those who knew what passed in private communion and intercourse with God. In the closed chamber, and by earnest prayer, he renewed his strength. No sacred service was ever undertaken, no drawing-room ever entered, without ‘two or three’ being [first] called to kneel and seek convenient grace and divine guidance. Hence words of wisdom; hence peace with God; hence a cheerful countenance; hence above all the blessing of God, which maketh rich and addeth no sorrow.*”

So truly was the *youth* “the father of the man.”

The season of inquiry above alluded to, during which he

* In his little book ‘The Christian’s Struggle,’ (being his Lent Lectures for 1850) he says; “My late beloved friend and father, Mr. Cecil, whom I can never mention without peculiar feelings of gratitude, used to say in his graphic manner, ‘Sir, the house may fall down, but *I must pray*!’” (p. 96.)

was feeling his way into light, lasted about 18 months. At length the new order of things was fixed and sealed by his receiving the holy communion on Sunday, October 1, 1797. The effect seems to have been of a very marked kind,—like the rolling away of dark mental clouds and the breaking out of sun-shine. On the following Wednesday he wrote to a friend ;—“ The Lord shines so upon my soul that I cannot but love Him, and desire no longer to live to myself but to Him ... *I have even wished, if it were the Lord's will, to go as a Missionary to heathen lands.*” This, be it remembered, was written two years before the foundation of the Church Missionary Society, when there was none of that comparative *dignity* belonging to the missionary enterprise which it has acquired in our day.

The fragrance of the memory of that Eucharistic feast and of the week of self-consecration that followed it, was not soon to pass away. Such brief periods have often been as the guiding-stars of a whole life-time. Nor do we doubt that, when—thirty-five years after his first expression of a wish to be a missionary—Bp. Wilson stood on the banks of the Hooghly, he remembered that era in his early history, and thanked God for it. He was not content, however, with mere imaginings of distant contingencies. Within three weeks of his First Communion, he had decided on seeking admission to holy orders. His parents and other friends dissuaded him from thinking of such a step: but his desire grew stronger and his reasons more definite, until at last they overcame all resistance, and it was arranged that he should be sent to Oxford. Accordingly on May 1, 1798, he was entered at St. Edmund's Hall; and, after spending the intervening months under the tuition of the Rev. Josiah Pratt, (then curate to Mr. Cecil) went into residence in the following November.

St. Edmund's Hall was, at that time, and for the next half century, the stronghold of what are known as Evangelical views. The persons who held those views, (and among them Daniel Wilson,) maintained, that their doctrinal tenets were on all fundamental points identical with those of the (then so-called) *Orthodox Churchman*;—that they were, in fact, the doctrines of Cranmer and Jewel and Hooker; but that the difference between the two parties lay in the degree of stress that was laid on a *heart-felt, practical, reception* of orthodox statements. Some of them, it was admitted, leaned somewhat to Calvinistic ways of expression; but, it was maintained,* “ not

* D. WILSON'S *Sermon on the death of Thomas Scott*; (S. and Tr., vol. I., p. 650.)

a few of them incline to the *anti-calvinistic* exposition," and "decidedly protest against many important particulars to be found in the theology of Calvin."

There are few thoughtful men of the present day who would deny the substantial truth of the above representation. Cecil and Scott and the Milners, Simeon and Brown and Martyn, Pratt and Wilson, are names that every earnest and well-informed English Churchman now mentions with respect, as faithful sons of the Reformation, however he may think some of them defective in their estimate of the corporate privileges of the Church.

His undergraduateship passed happily. He was a hard-working student. He had a prudent and sensible man, Mr. Crouch, for his tutor. He had religious-minded friends, in company with whom he read scripture and prayed :—some of whom became "pillars" of the school to which they belonged,—as Dr. Marsh, Mr. Fry, Dean Pearson, and Mr. John Natt. He learned the art *parvo bene vivendi*, for he lived free from debt on a hundred guineas a year,—the sum his father allowed him at college. His chief trial was that heavy one, which every God-fearing man must have felt, whose position subjects him to long-continued intellectual toil, unrelieved by ordinary social duties,—the trial of finding his thoughts wandering away to literature or science, when they ought to be fixed on God.

At length in June 1801 he passed his B. A. examination, and was shortly after ordained to the curacy of Chobham, Surrey, of which Mr. Cecil was Rector. His first sermon was on a text, which five years before had done much (when quoted to him by Mr. Newton) to free his mind from its doctrinal misconceptions: "Him that cometh unto me, I will in no wise cast out." It may be remarked, too, that the first sermon he ever printed was on a text equally, or, perhaps, still more, direct in its antagonism to Calvinistic error; "He that will do His will, shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God."

He now threw his whole soul into his pastoral work, so as to surprize even Mr. Cecil; who called him "the apostolic Wilson." He visited every house and hut in his parish, and kept a journal, in which he recorded the names and characters of all his parishioners. This was the best possible initiation into ministerial duties;—of the highest value to one who was soon to be re-transplanted to Oxford, to spend nine years in tutorial engagements.

His removal occurred in 1803, which was, all together, an eventful year to him. About the middle of May he was a successful suitor for the hand of his cousin Ann; and at the end of the

same month he was declared to have won the University Prize for the English Essay :—the subject of which was “Common Sense.” The subject of the prize poem that year was, “Palestine ;” and so, no sooner had Wilson recited his Essay, than his place in the rostrum was occupied by Heber.

Mr. Bateman remarks, (with a slight excess of that rhetorical style, which is noticeable throughout his volumes ;)—

‘There is something affecting in the picture of these two young aspirants, thus brought together in the morning of life, who were afterwards called to bear “the heat and burden of the day” in the same far distant land : something also in the scrolls they held, characteristic of the men : the one, throwing over India the charm of poetry, piety, and a loving spirit ; the other, stamping upon it the impress of scriptural supremacy and evangelical truth : something of adaptation also in the Divine ordering of those consecrated spots where “they rest in their graves”—the chancel of St. JOHN’S, Trichinopoly, and the chancel of St. PAUL’S, Calcutta.’

Nor must we omit the very justifiable piece of grave academical pleasantry which is appended to the above :—

‘The day following these recitations, one of the Heads of Houses met Mr. Crouch in the High Street, Oxford.

“Well, Mr. Crouch,” he said, “so ‘Common Sense’ has come to Edmund Hall at last.”

“Yes ;” replied Mr. Crouch, with his quiet humour, “but not yet to the other colleges.”’

His marriage, which took place in Nov. 1803, appears to have been every way a happy one. He had six children ; and for nearly fourteen years enjoyed almost unbroken domestic felicity. In 1816, writing to ask a friend to stay with him, he concludes his letter :—“We are the most merry and happy household in London.” The first serious inroad into this happiness was made in 1818 by the sudden death of a favourite daughter, Ann : three years later he lost a son, after a lingering illness : and in 1827 came the heaviest stroke of all, the death of his wife. He received all these dispensations with the same pious submission to God’s will. We, who read of them now, may not be wrong, if we see in them a gradual loosening of the bonds that held him to England, and a Providential training for his future work. Certainly few posts in the whole world require of their occupants a larger share in the “*disciplina humanitatis*,”—sympathy with human suffering and bereavement—than that which he afterwards held in Calcutta. Hundreds can testify that he had learned the lesson well.

We believe, that Bishop Wilson has not always had justice done to him on this point. He was so much before men’s eyes as a Rebuker and Exhorter,—bringing the terrors of the Gospel (sterner far than those of the Law) to bear upon the worldliness he saw around him, or entering with controversial

warmth into the defence of Dogmatic Truth—that few gave him credit for having much of the softer and gentler portions of our nature. Indeed, during his later years, his feelings were, in general, so controlled by his supreme reference of all to God, that some of his most intimate friends were disposed to doubt their existence. This, however, we are satisfied was a great mistake. There, undoubtedly, the tender-heartedness was,—full and strong at the centre, though rarely allowed to escape to the surface. The truth is, none are more averse to give free scope to their emotions than those who feel most strongly. Still, we have more than once ourselves witnessed striking exhibitions of feeling in him, and yet oftener a resolute—though ill-concealed—suppression of it.

While on this point, let us add two extracts from his *Life* illustrating the way in which he discharged this part of his function—the work of consolation. We do not envy the person who cannot discern in them, amidst all the calmness of religious faith, a strong undercurrent of genuine and tender sympathy.

The first is a note written to Lady Malkin after the death of her husband;*

“GHAZEETOWN, October 1837.

“I commend you to Him, who is the ALL SUFFICIENT God: and who places His chief glory in sustaining and consoling the weak and destitute.

“His ways are indeed mysterious, afflictive, sudden, overwhelming, desolating at times. But He is in Himself, and His dealings with us, the same. His name is “I AM THAT I AM.” He knows His designs and His purposes of grace.

“There is no reasoning with an INFINITE BEING. It is utterly in vain for us feeble, ignorant mortals. But we may cling to the skirts of His raiment, as it were—we may hang upon His gracious promises—we may trust His power, wisdom, and love. Eternity annihilates the few years which may intervene between our own dismissal and that of those we most tenderly love. They are not lost, but only gone before in the procession of mortality!”

The other refers to an incident that occurred at Meerut during his visitation in 1836.

“Meerut was full of sickness and full of sad hearts, and deep sympathy had been aroused for one of the chaplains into whose house death had again and again entered. As three dear children were in quick succession carried to their burial, the hearts of all were moved, and prepared to receive the word when the Bishop on Easter Day addressed his crowded audience from 1 Thess. iv. 13, 14, and spoke of the “Child of sorrow consoled by the fact, the benefits, and the prospects of the Resurrection.” It was hard to decide which was the most affecting sight:—when hundreds were melted into tears in the great congregation under the power of his

* Sir Benjamin Malkin, to whom he had been strongly attached, and to whose worth he bore public testimony in his *Fourth Charge*.

appeals ; or when, the public service ended, he went into the house of mourning, and read his sermon once again to the bereaved and weeping mother !”

But we must again revert to his earlier life.

His connexion with Oxford, as tutor of St. Edmund's Hall, lasted from 1804 to 1812. He entered upon it as on a scene of trial. “ I tremble,” he says, “ to think of its Dons, and its pursuits, and the general tone of its maxims and opinions...But to shrink from it would prove me faithless.” This was in 1803. In 1806 he wrote to a friend ; “ Sin, disguising itself under the form of the literary pursuits I am engaged in, has deceived and wounded and almost slain me. I scarcely see Christ.” The danger, however, was much mitigated by the fact of his having parochial work along with his tutorship ; first as curate of Worton, near Banbury, and afterwards (in 1809-12) as assistant to Mr. Cecil at St. John's, Bedford Row. The services at Worton were attended by people from all the neighbouring villages. Mr. Bateman has collected a few reminiscences of the country-people about them.

“ Many of the old people at Worton are still living, and may well be allowed to tell their own tale.

“ Mary Taylor, an aged woman of ninety years, was asked if she remembered Mr. Wilson. “ Oh, yes !” she replied. “ I remember him well. My husband and I used to go and hear him preach. Great crowds of people came from all parts. One day, I saw the tears running down my husband's cheeks after the sermon was done. He said to me, ‘ What makes you look at me so ?’ I said, ‘ Well, John, I'm glad to see you as you are.’ We were both crying under the effects of the sermon we had heard. My husband and I both felt it in our hearts, and I bless God that I ever heard him preach.” Her daughter, Ann Gibbard, was standing by, and said that she remembered one of the last sermons at Worton. He said, “ Folks say they don't know how to pray and to serve God. Now I give you one little word to remember : TRY, T-R-Y, T-R-Y.”

“ Two young men of the village of Swerford, named Thomas Wheeler and John King, had been living in carelessness and indifference about religion. On one occasion they set out to enjoy the pleasures of the Sunday feast in the village of Great Tew : but in the good providence of God something induced them to turn aside and enter Worton Church. They were so powerfully affected by the sermon, that by mutual consent, they gave up all idea of the feast, and on their walk home, conversing upon the things they had just heard, they went down into a stone quarry by the road side, and there, kneeling down, united in what was probably their first earnest prayer to the God of salvation. Thomas Wheeler continued a consistent Christian to the end : and John King went out as a missionary to New Zealand. Neither was this a solitary instance of the effect of Divine grace, for two other young men, belonging to Deddington, named Matthews, who received their religious impressions at about the same time, followed John King as missionaries to New Zealand.”

That his residence in Oxford for these nine years was, on the whole, of decided advantage to him, we have no doubt : al-

though he himself, eighteen years afterwards, spoke of it with (we venture to think) undue depreciation.* His was just the mind that wanted such discipline. Contact with other minds, cast in a different mould and reared in a different style of thought, gave him broader views and wider toleration than most of his school possessed. Nor were his lectures on the Greek Testament and Aldrich's Logic without their use. They did for him what similar duties had done for John Wesley, (who was similarly Greek Lecturer and Logic Reader in his College;)—they enriched his discourses with matter, and gave point and vigour and clearness to his style.† Here too he found opportunities of making acquaintance with Aristotle and Jeremy Taylor and Butler and Bossuet and Pascal;—whose writings were among the best possible correctives of his earlier fatalistic tendencies.‡

Butler, in especial, seems to have exerted a very important influence on his whole mode of thinking. The latent references, which are traceable in his writings, to Butler's arguments, (e. g. on the probable nature of moral evidence, the contrast between active habits and passive impressions, the vastness of the Scheme of Redemption, and the like.) are very numerous.¶

How highly he valued Butler, appears from his "Introductory Essay," prefixed to a Glasgow edition of the Analogy; in which he speaks of him with the warmest admiration. Among other things he says; "Probably no book in the compass of theology is so full of the 'seeds of things,' to use the expression of a kindred genius, (Lord Bacon,) as the Analogy."¶¶

* *Life*, I. p. 132.

† We do not mean by this that Wesley's and Wilson's styles resemble each other. They are strongly contrasted. The remark in the text, however, is not the less true.

‡ His first printed Sermon, "*Obedience the Path to Religious Knowledge*," has on its Title-page a motto from the Nicomachean Ethics,—contains an extract, two pages long, from Jeremy Taylor,—and gives two passages from Pascal in the notes.

¶ In several places he makes distinct mention of Butler: e. g. First Charge, p. 30, Sixth Charge, p. 18, Sermons, pp. 425, 459, Letters to an Abs. Br., Pref. p. xxix. The gist of his Consecration Sermon lies in Butler's remark, (which he quotes at p. 23 :) "Teach them, not that external religion is nothing, but that regard to one duty will in no sense atone for the neglect of any other."

¶¶ Mr. Bateman speaks of Wilson as "having aimed at *extending the argument from analogy*." We would, with all deference, ask, *Where* is this attempted? We strongly suspect that the idea sprang from misunderstanding a portion of Dr. Copleston's Letter to Mr. Wilson. (See the *Life*, vol. I. p. 161.) It is certain that Copleston intended nothing of the kind.

But now let us follow him from Oxford to London. His acceptance of the charge of Bedford-Row Chapel was highly honourable to his sincerity and disinterestedness. He resigned his tutorship, which with the curacy yielded £500 a year, for an income of £300. But he felt that tutorial work had a depressing influence on his religious state, leading, he says, to a "gradual decay of vital piety;"—and Mr. Cecil was most anxious to have him as his successor. He, therefore, held no further parley with his doubts, but undertook the situation of Minister of St. John's.

We will let Mr. Bateman describe the congregation to us;—

'Amongst the regular attendants were John Thornton and his sons—names suggestive of singular goodness and beneficence. There sat Charles Grant with his family, and two distinguished sons, the one afterwards as Lord Glenelg, President of the Board of Control, and Secretary of State for the Colonies; the other as Sir Robert Grant, Governor of Bombay. There also sat Zachary Macaulay accompanied by his son, the legislative counsellor of India and historian of England: ennobling literature and now ennobled by it. Dr. Mason Good was there; a physician of high repute, the master of seventeen languages, and translator of the Psalms and the book of Job, who from a disciple of Belsham was now "sitting at the feet of Jesus." Near him might be seen Mr. Stephen and his family, Mr. Cardale, Mr. Bainbridge, Mr. Wigg, Mr. Charles Bridges, and many others of high repute and piety. Lawyers of note, also, who afterwards adorned the bench, were pewholders in St. John's. The good Bishop Ryder often attended, and Lord Calthorpe, Mr. Bowdler, the "facile princeps," as he was termed, of the rising barristers of his day, and Sir Digby Mackworth. Mr. Wilberforce was frequently present, with his son Samuel, "to take care of him." The late Duchess of Beaufort also often sought to hear him, with many members of her family. Individuals of every "sort and condition" were thus assembled—high and low, rich and poor, one with another. Thirty or forty carriages might often be counted during the London season, standing in triple rows about the doors; and though there was, as is too often unhappily the case in proprietary chapels, but scant accommodation for the poor, yet they loved to attend, and every vacant sitting-place was filled by them, the moment the doors were opened.'

Of the preacher he writes thus:—

'When through a crowd of standing auditors, he walked up the long

Rather he points out, in a very gentle and delicate, but perfectly precise, way, that the charges brought against Butler in the "Essay" are—not untrue in fact, but—irrelevant. He says: "He [Butler] has gone *as far as his undertaking required him to go*." Butler's endeavour was to bring men out of their carelessness and scepticism to *listen to the Gospel*. His book was not intended to supply a full exposition of dogmatic and practical Truth. *This*, adds Copleston, (that is, the full exhibition of Christian Truth—not—an extension of the argument of the Analogy) is "a work that gives ample scope for the abilities and zeal of all our fellow-labourers, and I willingly acknowledge that among them you have had a distinguished share."

side-aisle, before the sermon, with features set and full of seriousness, every eye turned towards him with a feeling of interest as to what the Lord God was about to say by his mouth. Those who have known him in the decline of life, or those even who have only known him in Islington, have no idea of his power in the pulpit of St. John's. In the decline of life, peculiarities often crept into his discourses; and in Islington, local and parochial matters upon which he wished to influence men's minds, were frequently introduced; but there was nothing of the kind at St. John's. He was then like a man, "set for the defence of the Gospel." Mr. Simeon used to say that the congregation were at his feet. All felt his power. The preaching of "Christ crucified," and the salvation of the souls of men were his great objects—never forgotten—never out of sight. There was a seriousness in his manner, before which levity shrunk abashed; an occasional vehemence, which swept all obstacles before it; a pathos and tenderness, which opened in a moment the fountain of tears; and a command, which silenced for a time the mutterings of unbelief.

Among other testimonies to the effect of his ministry is the following:—

'A near relative of Daniel Wilson was one of a large company, when a gentleman approached and sought a personal introduction. "I wished to be introduced," he said, in explanation, "to a relative of one to whom I owe everything for time and eternity. I am only one of very many who do not know and never spoke to Mr. Wilson, but to whom he has been a father in Christ. He never will know, and he never ought to know, the good he has been the means of doing, for no man could bear it.'"

Connected with St. John's was a large amount of parochial machinery,—Sunday-schools, Vestries, District Societies, &c. At one Confirmation he had as many as 125 candidates to present; of whom a large proportion were afterwards led to the Lord's Table. It was for these that he wrote his tracts on Confirmation and the Lord's Supper; both of which have gone through several editions.* Both, we may remark, have been translated into Bengalee.

The number of communicants in his congregation amounted to 700 or upwards. Sometimes as many as 500 stayed at one time. The collections in his Chapel on several occasions exceeded £200.

During the summer months he generally established his family somewhere in the country; and then placed himself at the disposal of the Bible or Church Missionary Society. On the last of these annual tours (which was in 1822) he visited the Channel islands, Normandy, and Paris. At the last of these places he made a speech in English to the Bible Society, which was delivered to the audience in French by M. Guizot.

A change, however, was at hand. He had to learn to suffer,

* We have now before us an American edition of the tract on Confirmation, (Philadelphia, 1842.) which professes to be "a reprint from the *seventeenth* London Edition."

as well as to act. Towards the close of 1822 his strength gave way, and for a while he was completely prostrate. In the following year he resumed his work for a while; but it was soon evident that an entire cessation from labour was necessary: and under medical advice he made a tour on the continent from June to November. On his return the letters he had written home were collected and published in two volumes under the title "*Letters from an Absent Brother.*" As "*Travels*" they have little or no value. As a record of the impressions made on an Evangelical English Clergyman by what he saw of the Foreign Churches in 1823, they have still some interest. We need only say here that what he observed abroad sent him back to England with a deeper esteem for his own Church.*

He had scarcely settled down at home, when his old complaint returned in an aggravated form, (erysipelas,) so that for twelve months he was obliged to remain inactive; preaching during that time only once,—on the occasion of his Induction into the living of Islington, (the advowson of which had been bequeathed to him by his father-in-law.)

At the end of 1824 he resumed work,—with chastened spirits, but with no loss of activity. Some indeed complained that he seemed less fervent than he had been,—that he "*restrained himself in the pulpit*"—that he had been "*very different at St. John's.*" What they said was true, though not in *their* sense;—he *was* putting a restraint on himself, schooling himself, in accordance with the advice of his old tutor, into fitness for a new course of duty. Mr. Pratt had written a letter to him, full of judicious counsel, and warning him against a renewal of those "*exhausting efforts of mind*" which had brought him to the brink of the grave. "*Your changed circumstances,*" he said, "*will require you to render prominent and characteristic in your ministry those qualities of tenderness and affection which will less exhaust your spirits in preparation and be more consolatory to your own soul in the delivery.*"

A few words may suffice to describe his Islington career. He found the parish estranged and suspicious: he brought it round to be deeply attached to him. He found them with an unliquidated debt, contracted by building a chapel-of-ease; he induced them to raise a sum of £12,000, which, with help from the King's Commissioners, enabled him to build three large new Churches. In the parish church he had three full services on Sundays, and one in the week, with morning prayers on Wednesdays, Fridays, and holidays. He had also an early Commu-

* See *Letters, &c.*, vol. I., p. 113, 170.

nion in addition to the usual celebration. He set on foot fifteen "Local Sunday-Schools," each with its lending-library. He instituted "District Visiting Societies" all over his parish. He successfully advocated the foundation of a Proprietary School in Islington for the sons of the upper classes.* He founded the Islington Association for the Church Missionary Society;—whose contributions now amount to nearly one-fiftieth of the Parent Society's whole income. Lastly, he composed his "Sermons on the Lord's Day," his "Lectures on Christian Evidences," (the most useful, probably, of his works,) and various occasional Pamphlets† and Addresses.

In these and the like engagements nine years passed away‡: and then, in the maturity of his powers and reputation, he was transferred to India.

There can, we think, be but one opinion about his character up to this point; and he was now in his fifty-fourth year,—a time of life when a man's character has been pretty well solidified. Every thing speaks of singleness of purpose, and devoted laboriousness in God's cause. He answered very much to the description, which he himself quotes from Jeremy Taylor,|| of a man, "*who dares trust his proposition, and drives it to its utmost issue, resolving to go after it, whithersoever it may invite him;*" or to the character he gave of Mr. Cecil,¶ "He went all lengths and risked every consequence on the word and promise of God."

This, and no other, (we feel sure) was the spirit in which he now severed himself from all his old associations,—his family,—

* It now bears a fairly high character. The present Bishop of Lincoln was, for some time, its Head-Master.

† One of his pamphlets was a letter in favour of Roman Catholic Emancipation. Mr. Bateman observes, "Whatever judgment may be formed of the part he took in this matter, there can be no doubt as to the singleness of his purpose, and his earnest sincerity. He himself, in after years, expressed regret and a feeling of disappointment that the result had fallen short of his anticipations. But it is too soon to decide. We know but in part. The problem is even now not worked out. The results, when developed, may show that the tendency of the measure was to promote the glory of God and the good of the Church."

‡ It will readily be imagined that he could not accomplish thus much without being a rigorous economist of time. This did not add to his popularity with all. His old friend, Mr. Basil Woodd, who was fond of a little quiet talk, used to complain,—"When I go to see Mr. Wilson, before I have well settled myself in the chair and got into conversation, I hear him say, Good-bye, dear Basil Woodd, here is your hat and here is your umbrella."

|| Sermon and Tr., vol. I., p. 40.

¶ Ibid. p. 313. Compare also p. 559 of the same volume.

his daily enlarging circle of friends,—his newly-built library, with its ten thousand volumes,—to go to a distant country and occupy a post, which within nine years had been four times left vacant by death.

The history of his appointment is as follows. When the news of Bishop Turner's death reached England, the see was offered to several men of eminence, but (on various grounds) declined by all of them. On hearing of this, Wilson's spirit was deeply moved. He had long taken the deepest interest in missionary matters, and in India especially. Twice (in 1814 and 1817) he had been chosen to preach the Anniversary Sermon of the "Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East;" and in 1818 he had written a tract in defence of that society, which went rapidly through seventeen editions. For several years (as we have seen) he had advocated the cause of missions in various parts of England. Several of his friends—the Grants and Thorntons and Wilberforce and Macaulay—were intimately connected with, or interested in, India. Recently, too, another link had been added to this chain of influences. Turner had been invited, a little before he left England, to address the Islington Missionary Association. He did so, and afterwards when he was in private with the Vicar, begged him to send him any suggestions that might occur to him about the duties of an Indian Bishop. No notice was taken of this request at the time; but when it was repeated in a letter from Calcutta, it was cordially responded to.

We may now understand what Mr. Wilson felt when he heard that the appointment was (in colloquial phrase) "going a-begging." The idea, which thirty-four years previously had presented itself to his mind, revived in all its power. "I was compelled" he says "by conscience, and by an indescribable, desire, to sacrifice myself, if God should accept the offering and the emergency should arise." Accordingly (in December 1831) he wrote to Dr. Dealtry to say, that "if no one else could be found, he *was ready to go*." This was communicated to Mr. C. Grant; and after some delay, (arising, it would seem, from a dread of his "impulsiveness" and "impetuosity of character")* the bishopric was offered to him March 27, 1832.

He left England June 19, landed at Calcutta November 5, and at once entered on work. He held an ordination on the following Epiphany; gave a series of Lent Lectures; began his monthly "semi-official synods" of the clergy, (the "semi" being useful in guarding against legal difficulties); held a con-

* See *Life*, I. p. 284 and Bp. Shirley's remark quoted at II. p. 324.

firmation; took possession of his visitor's room at Bishop's College; went to see the mission-stations near Calcutta; mediated between the dissident Trustees of the Free-School; founded an Infant-School; arranged the details of a new Church-Building Fund; set on foot a subscription for promoting *Steam Navigation between India and England*; framed rules for the guidance of the Native Churches in certain difficult cases;—* and despatched other pieces of business such as spring up so prolifically in the daily life of an Indian official.

For the first year everything moved on smoothly. His naturally buoyant spirits were excited by the novelty of all around him; and wherever he turned, success smiled on him. But in the beginning of 1834 a change came over the scene. He got into a misunderstanding with Government on a question of "prerogative." It is not easy to form an opinion on the case, as Mr. Bateman, after giving several of the Bishop's letters, (not however the important one in which the case is stated,) declines furnishing us with any of "the long arguments subsequently urged both by the Governor-General and the Vice-President in Council, *in justification of the course pursued*; because" he says "even if valid, they were out of place." This is obscure. We cannot help thinking it a pity that the matter was not despatched in half a dozen lines instead of being spread over eight pages.

The Bishop's own comment on the matter, in private, was:—"We must now fall back on our proper position and high objects, the work of God and the good of souls." Here indeed was his strength. His diplomacy or casuistry might be defective; but on his own ground—that of the practical inculcation of religion—he was unsurpassed. And after all, if he could have had the authority in quasi-ecclesiastical matters, which is wielded by the Commander-in-Chief and all the Brigadiers in India, transferred to him *en masse*, would it not have been just so much taken away from his real work? Would it have enabled him to do one-tenth of the good, that (we hope) was done by the issue of the following simple paper of

"CONFIRMATION RULES."

- * 1. Pray every day of your life for more and more of God's Holy Spirit.

* Whether all his decisions were sound,—although he had excellent advisers in Archdeacon Corrie, and Dr. Mill—may admit of doubt: *e. g.* He decided that, if a man who had two wives became a Christian, he was bound to put one, the last whom he married, away; (*Life*, I., p. 365,) although she was certainly his *lawful* wife; and might have borne him children, or become a Christian, whilst the first had done neither.

2. Prepare at once for receiving aright the Holy Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ.
3. Read every day some portion of God's Holy Word.
4. Reverence and observe the Holy Sabbath.
5. Keep in the unity of the Church.
6. Avoid bad company, and seek the company of the good.
7. When you have got wrong, confess it, and get right as soon as you can.

'In many a Bible and Prayer Book throughout India, these words will be found written: by many a civilian, soldier, East-Indian, and native Christian have they been repeated and treasured up. "Please, sir, will you give us our seven duties?" was the constant request to the Bishop's chaplain after service.'

Few persons ever had in greater perfection the faculty of laying hold of the prominent points of a subject and stating them in a concise form. He was seldom profound; not often ingenious; but he was always clear and intelligible, and generally impressive. The intellect might be dissatisfied; perhaps, the taste offended; but the moral and religious faculties had been appealed to. Something had been said that went to the root of the matter;—something that would not easily vanish from the memory. The following is a characteristic specimen of his power of concentration:—

"Once on a visit at a friend's house he was requested to officiate at morning prayers with the family, but to be very short, because of some pressing engagement. On the servants being seated, he said; "I am requested to be very short to-day: I will therefore give you Christianity in a nutshell. Our heavenly Father said of our blessed Redeemer, 'Thou art my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased.' Any soul that can say of that Redeemer, 'Thou art my beloved Saviour in whom I am well pleased' is a real Christian. Now, let us pray."

In August 1834 he commenced his Primary Visitation, which was not, strictly, concluded before March 1837. In the course of it he visited Maulmain, Singapore, Ceylon, Madras, the Malabar Syrian Churches, Bombay, Delhi, Simla, and the intermediate stations: traversing in all, by sea and land, above 13,000 miles. Instead of presenting a dry skeleton of his doings during this period, we shall take two or three of the most interesting, and give them with some fulness.

1. Among matters awaiting his decision in Ceylon was the (so-called) *Oba-wahansey* controversy. It originated thus. The Cingalese have two dialects, the familiar or spoken, and the written or dignified. This last is full of long complimentary words, which are thrown in simply "*elegantia* causâ." Thus in conversation with a friend a man would say "*oba*" for "you:"—but if he wrote a letter he must say no longer "*oba*," but "*oba-wahansey*." Now each dialect had its own version of the Scriptures;

and each had its warm advocates, who thought themselves entitled to the Bishop's support. He heard the cause, and

"recommended that the two versions should be made equally accessible, and that *time* should be the final arbiter. It was of course a Native, and not an English question; and experience would show the leaning of the native mind, and gradually bring about any change that was really desirable in the native churches. Thus the controversy for the time was still-
ed."

That this decision was the best, under the circumstances, scarcely admits of doubt. The Bishop evidently felt that he had got no sure footing; and he showed his usual good sense in not intermeddling with what he did not understand. We do not, however, think that the question is one that ought to be left for *time* to decide. It rests on principles that have been long at work elsewhere. The European languages have determined, on the whole with singular uniformity, that the simple, non-complimentary, form of the second person should be used in translations of the Bible; and this on the principle, that absolute truth, not social usage, should be there our guide. Hence the English says *Thou* not *you*, the German *Du* not *Sie*, the French *tu* not *vous*.* Hence the Bengali has decided on using *tumi* not *aponi*, and the Urdu *tu*, not *tum* or *ap*. On the same principle we hope some day to hear that our Cingalese friends have decided on adopting *oba* and discarding *oba-wahansey*.

2. If in this instance the Bishop showed a prudent reluctance to decide a matter he had not studied, he soon afterwards proved that he could act with decision, where he felt he *had* mastered his subject. On arriving at Madras, he had to deal with the Caste question. His views on this point have been, we believe, universally acquiesced in. Indeed in the opinion of some his conduct on this occasion is the great glory of his Episcopate, by which he will be hereafter known in the history of the Indian Church.

The case stood thus.—The earliest Protestant missionaries in Madras, (Ziegenbalg, Grundler, &c.) had required their converts to renounce all caste superstitions. But after their death the insidious enemy began to creep back into the Church. First, separate *schools* were erected for Sudras and Pariahs. This was in 1726. Then in 1727 they had separate places in *church*. In 1736 they got separate *catechists*. In 1738 men of high caste refused to receive the *Holy Communion* from men of lower caste.

So matters stood in 1750 when Schwartz arrived. His plan

* The expression "*Vous, O Seigneur*," may be met with in Massillon's sermons and elsewhere. But the other is the rule.

was to root out the evil by moral influence rather than by direct authority : and, so long as he lived, the evil was at least kept in check. But when he was gone, and no men of equal calibre came in his place, it burst out with more than its former virulence. A Sudra would not allow a Pariah priest to eat with him, to preach to him, or to read the funeral service over his deceased relative. Nay, some went so far as to attend heathen feasts, and wear heathen marks on their brow, and to forbid any to marry beyond the limits of their own caste.

When Bishop Heber visited Madras, he heard what the missionaries urged in favour of introducing a stricter system : but he was not convinced. He had been led by the Rev. Christian David to think, that the native converts adhered to caste-distinctions simply as badges of ancient pedigree,—just as in Spain the Castilian (however poor) would keep aloof from persons of mixed blood. If this were so, he was of opinion that the attack should be made not so much on the usage itself as on the spirit of pride, from which it sprang : and that we ought not “to deal less favourably with the prejudices of this people, than St. Paul and the Primitive Church dealt with the almost similar prejudices of the Jewish convert.” Acting under such impressions, he refused to take any measures, at present, beyond requesting that a select Committee of the Christian Knowledge Society at Madras might be appointed to inquire into the subject.

Bishop Heber himself did not live to receive the Report of this Committee. Articles of inquiry, however, were circulated, and the answers which were sent in by the missionaries collated. It turned out, that of 27 missionaries belonging to different Societies all, with *one* exception, (Dr. Cammerer of the Danish mission,) stated their belief that caste was dangerous in the extreme and ought not to be tolerated in the Church.

Meanwhile the evil became more rampant : and soon after Bishop Wilson's arrival in this country he was officially informed that in the preceding year 168 native Christians had actually lapsed into heathenism. No time was to be lost. He wrote a circular letter to the native Churches in Madras (July 5, 1833,) in which after pointing out the evils of the system, he tells them that it “must be abandoned decidedly, immediately, and finally.” At the end of the letter he explains, that, as regards those who were already communicants, it was to suffice if they “at once and finally” discontinued all overt acts connected with caste *in Church* ; but that catechumens and confirmands should be required to renounce caste openly and before the Church.

This letter took the Missionaries by surprise, and it was not at once communicated to their flocks. Some things in it required explanation. A correspondence ensued, and in January 3, 1834, another letter was sent, containing more specific directions, and requiring the Missionary "after due notice and entreaties" to withdraw all employment and pecuniary aid from such as continued to "walk disorderly." This letter caused great excitement. At Vepery the whole body of the Sudras retired and formed a separate congregation. Many of the catechists and school-masters, after due warning, were dismissed. Some of these applied for protection to the Governor of Madras and the Governor-General. The case was even referred to the Court of Directors. But the Bishop was now strictly in order, and altogether impregnable against Government interference.

After such events it will be readily conceived that he approached Madras on his Visitation tour with some anxiety. It was a great satisfaction to him, that, soon after landing, he received a letter from Archbishop Howley, approving of the measures he had taken and promising him his support.

The stronghold of the caste system was Tanjore:—thither the Bishop hastened. The account of his visit is well told by Mr. Bateman; and is decidedly the most interesting narrative connected with the Bishop's Indian history.

After some preliminary interviews with the malcontents, the Bishop preached to them in the Mission Church. There were 750 seated inside, (of whom 300 were Sudras,) and many more were standing around the doors and windows. The text was "Walk in love, as Christ also loved us." Towards the conclusion of his sermon he dwelt on the character of the good Samaritan; and described in a pointed manner his meeting with the man in distress, his relieving him without inquiring who he was, his caring for him generously and tenderly,—and all because he was a fellow-being in trouble:—

"And what," asked the Bishop, rising from his seat, and with outstretched arms bending over the congregation which sat beneath him; "what did our blessed Master and Saviour say concerning this? What was His doctrine? What was His command? What were His words? 'Go, AND DO THOU LIKEWISE.'" A long pause of motionless and breathless silence followed—broken only when he besought every one present to offer up this prayer:—"Lord, give me a broken heart, to receive the love of Christ and obey his commands." Whilst the whole congregation were repeating these words aloud in Tamul, he bowed upon the cushion; doubtless entreating help from God; and then dismissed them with his blessing.

Some days after, a conference was held at which 150 Sudras were present. The Bishop presided. He told them that the

cause of all this strife was "the fallen heart of man," which made them unwilling to receive the Christian law of love.

They were then invited to speak ; which they did as follows :—

Decasagayam.—In these parts Heathenism is like the sun shining strongly. Christianity is only a feeble light. It meets great hindrances from friends and foes, and if it is to spread, it must not be made difficult, and subject its converts to persecution. We do not mind being called professors of the religion of God ; but we do not like to be called Pariahs. As God first threatened Nineveh and then pardoned it ; so we hope you who have threatened, will now excuse, spare, pardon us.

Ragappen Santappen.—You wish we should all come to the Lord's table without distinction. There has been no such rule from the time of our fathers. We find it very hard, and hope you will not insist upon it. Europeans have distinctions. They have family vaults.

Bishop.—And so may you have them. I have not the least objection. There is no heathenism in that.

Nyinaipragasan Arroordapin.—Our Lord before his sufferings bade three disciples watch and pray, and then he went away. When He came back, He found them sleeping. And He did this again and again. So we wish you to overlook us this time. When He came the third time, He said, "Sleep on now, and take your rest:" that is what we want you to say to us.

A Native (name unknown).—The missionaries give very false accounts of the native servants.

Bishop.—Well, then, do you give a right account. I am here. I hear.

Native.—We were offended by what was said last Sunday about drunkards and adulterers.

Bishop.—Why ? If none are drunkards or adulterers, why should any be offended ? But what about compliance with my wishes ?

Native.—We are willing to submit so far as our former customs go : but not to make any alteration.

Bishop.—Sit down.

Another Native.—I belong to the Cowkeeper tribe. Swartz converted my father, who lived to the age of ninety-eight. He endeavoured to convert others, and I have followed in his steps. My wife is dead. If I look out for another, they will say, "He is a Pariah. We won't give him a wife." The rules are very heavy. I hope they will be lightened. I gave fifty rupees to get a wife for my brother-in-law : and even then she would eat only with the heathen and not with the family. If you make us Pariahs we can get no wives.

Amoordapa Pillay.—I am a writer, employed by the Rajah. Caste does not spring from heathenism. You are misinformed. Caste is not a superstition. It is something by which respect is commanded and obtained. It is necessary for us. Pariahs are servants and slaves, who perform degrading offices. We are dishonoured by their coming near us. We can never submit. We cannot take the Sacrament with them.

Ragappen (again).—Amongst the Pariahs even, there are four or five castes. They will not eat indiscriminately. They have separate doctors and separate customs ; so that even amongst these slaves, distinctions exist. They work for Soodras, perform menial offices, remove dead cattle, announce deaths ; and they are paid for what they do. We love them very much. When a wedding is celebrated, we often give them a dinner. There are amongst them the washermen Pariahs, the scavenger Pariahs, and the pandaram or priest Pariahs.

Bishop.—I am glad to hear it, because they also will have something to give up, as well as the Soodras. But if a Pariah, by God's blessing, becomes learned, acquires property, buys an estate, has good manners and cleanly habits—where is the difference in God's sight between him and a Soodra? In that case all must be one in Christ.

Rayappen.—How can we make the heathen understand this? Swartz preached amongst them: some embraced Christianity: some did not. Those who did are subject to insults. The heathen will not associate with them.

Bishop.—What objection is there to that? Christians have nothing to do with heathens. They are commanded to "come out and be separate, and not touch the unclean thing." "Blessed are ye when men shall persecute you."

Rayappen.—The heathens will not even give us water to drink.

Bishop.—Will you give water to a Pariah, or drink with him?

Rayappen.—No: I will not.

Bishop.—Wherein, then, are you better in that respect than a heathen?

Rayappen.—I wish to bring in all the heathen: but your orders are a hindrance."

The conference was brought to a premature close by the intolerable rudeness of one of the interlocutors; and the Bishop dismissed them without his blessing.

Soon after, without deciding anything at Tanjore he set out for Trichinopoly. Here matters went on peaceably. For nine months not one of the Soodras had been near the Church. They now flocked in to hear the Bishop; and before his departure it was arranged that at a communion service about to be held a Sudra should receive first, then two Pariahs, then a European gentleman, then a Sudra, then some East Indians. The plan was carried out and thus the main point secured:—the nucleus of a sound Native Church of the future was formed.

On his return to Tanjore the same policy was pursued; and with the same success. Three hundred and forty-eight persons communicated; of whom 62 were Europeans, and 286 native Christians, 43 of them being Sudras.

The churches were thus re-established on a solid foundation.

3. In a charge which the Bishop delivered at Tanjore, he had said; "Perhaps not one in twenty of those who come out from Europe, in all the Protestant societies, with the best promise, and who go on well for a time, persevere in the disinterestedness of the true Missionary." This sentence was read in Calcutta, and remonstrances were sent in to him on his return by both Church and Dissenting missionaries. No satisfactory explanations were given; and the wound long remained unhealed.

The truth is, the Bishop *meant* what he said, and *was right*

in what he said : but was not right in saying it as he did. He was speaking in reference to *one* standard ; and his words would naturally—almost certainly—be interpreted according to *another*. In his Anniversary Sermon of 1814, * he had said to the missionaries ; “ You must look upon yourselves as separated and dedicated to the energies of your high vocation. *You must be self-annihilated. You must regard every thing as given up. ... The Missionary treads the highest walk of human effort.*” This was the standard doubtless, to which he was referring in his charge at Tanjore. Who would resent his words, so interpreted ?

If the persons who felt themselves aggrieved by the above expressions had known the way in which Bishop Wilson was apt to speak of himself, (of which there are too many specimens in Mr. Bateman’s volumes) they would have been readily pacified. So much we may urge in mitigation of the seeming harshness of his censure : and yet, at the same time, we admit that it would have been far better, if, *in speaking of others*, he had pitched his standard at the point, not of ideal excellence, but of what our old divines call “ *a probable profession.*”

4. During this same period he came into collision with the Church Missionary Society on the question of jurisdiction over their missionaries.

We do not see that the concession to a Society or Committee of the power to fix the station of their missionaries, involves anything *in principle* different from what is involved in lay-patronage in the church at home. The colonial Bishops themselves are nominated by laymen. But, that in general the arrangement of stations is better left to the Bishop, we firmly believe. In all such questions, however, *tact* is the great solvent. Mr. Bateman well remarks, that “ under the wise and gentle management”—the *mitis sapientia*—“ of Archdeacon Corrie no ripple had appeared upon the waters, but the Corresponding Committee had been content to register his experienced decision and to carry out his prudent counsels.”

The consequence of the above controversy was to bring upon Bishop Wilson the unmerited suspicion of *high-churchmanship* : so that in July 1835 we find him writing to his old friend the Rev. F. Cunningham :—“ Rely upon it, the reports you hear about my extreme churchmanship are all unfounded.” On more than one occasion afterwards he had to adopt a similar apologetic tone.

(5.) Another matter occurred about this time, which claims a passing notice, since it excited great interest at the time, and,

* Sermons and Tracts vol. i, page 128-9.

as Mr. Bateman observes, brought the Bishop "praise which he did not desire and censure he did not deserve."

The "Martinière" under the first decision of the Supreme Court (in 1832) was to have been in connexion with the Church of England. Three years later, the Governors of the Institution had this decision altered;—much to the Bishop's regret. Though beaten, however, on this point, he went on to maintain that "to teach Christianity without catechism, forms, or creeds was impossible;" and his arguments prevailed so far that Sir E. Ryan allowed his own proposition "That the school be conducted *generally on the principles of Christianity*" to be modified thus: "That the public religious instruction given to the children of the school be in conformity with *the principles held in common by the English, Scotch, Roman, Greek, and Armenian Churches.**" To give effect to this resolution, it was agreed that the Bishop, Dr. St. Leger, the Roman Catholic Bishop, and Mr. Charles, Chaplain of the Scotch Church, should be requested to draw up a catechism and a form of prayers for the use of the Martinière. This was accordingly done, and done well,—with as much candour as perhaps ever swayed the deliberations of a board of Polemics. But they who undertake a work of compromise, must be content to look for their reward elsewhere than to their fellow men. All the parties to this "Formula of Concord" suffered for it. Dr. St. Leger was recalled by the General of his order, (the Jesuits); Mr. Charles was called to account by his brethren in Scotland; and Bishop Wilson was lauded by Lord Lansdowne and the Council of Education (in 1839) for the support his example gave to their latitudinarian scheme of "general instruction in Christianity."

Over the following years of his episcopate we shall tread with lighter step. His second visitation began in July 1838; in the course of which he travelled to Singapore in one direction and Simla in the other, spending the summer of 1839 at Simla. His second *Charge* was chiefly directed against the "Traditionist Scheme." In a mere controversial point of a view, its value was not great; but as the earnest *protest* of a pious Bishop, looking on from a distance and warning not only his own diocese but the Church at large of an approaching danger, it was not without weight. The vehement assertion and declamatory style of address, which took away from its *argumentative* effect, added force to it as a Protest.

This remark, indeed, would apply to most of his charges and controversial writings. His *positive* views were almost always

* See Mr. Bateman's Pamphlet "*La Martinière, &c.*" (London, 1839.)

right;—it could not be otherwise with one who was so constant and reverent a reader of the Sacred Text.* But his attempts at *refutation* were rarely successful.† Justifiably bold so long as he remained inside his own entrenchments, he was often weak and vacillating outside them. Frequently he would lay vigorously about him in demolishing a phantom dogma, such as none of his opponents would ever have thought of maintaining; (*e. g.* no sect of Christians, and certainly not Dr. Pusey, ever attributed *indefectible* grace, or an *unconditionally saving* efficacy, to the sacrament of Baptism,‡) or in vehemently maintaining what they would never have denied, (*e. g.* the importance of the conversion of the heart to God.¶) Sometimes his real love of fairness would lead him to make a concession, which his impetuosity soon after made him forget: *e. g.* in his second charge he first speaks of the “Traditionist Scheme” as a *Re-action* produced by “a giant evil” of those days, which he describes as “*that rage for unsettling all old foundations, that general contempt of Christian antiquity, &c.,*” and then after eleven pages he turns round, and addresses the Re-actionist party thus: “And why this new school of divinity? Ancient testimony in its proper place who had undervalued?...The study of primitive antiquity *who had renounced?* The witness of the early Fathers *who had disparaged?*” Defects and inconsistencies of this kind, unhappily, served to make those whom he assailed believe that they had a monopoly of reason.¶

In August 1842 he opened his third Ordinary, and first

* We would commend to the thoughtful reader a very beautiful passage on the duty of seeking to “cast as it were into the whole shape and form and lineament of the Scriptures,” in his 2nd Sermon on the death of Rev. T. Scott, (*S. and Tr.*, vol. I., p. 557.)

† Anything like subtlety or refinement (especially of a metaphysical kind) repelled him. He called it, having a *minute* mind. “I stand” he would say “on plain, broad, principles.” This was an intelligible position, —if he had adhered to it.

‡ See *Prim. Metropolitan Charge*; p. 47-48. 2nd *Metropolitan Charge*, p. 66-67.

¶ See *Sermon on Regeneration*, (*Serm. and Tr.*, vol. I., p. 87.)

¶ We have no wish to enter on a matter, to which Mr. Bateman gives considerable prominence,—the relations of the Bishop to Mr. Street of Bishop’s College. It does not fall within our scope to do more than quote the Bishop’s very characteristic description of him; “Professor Street is about thirty years of age, ripe scholar, iron constitution, fine health, active, enterprising, zealous for missions, prodigal of his strength, rides twenty miles of a morning in the sun, manners good, no great talker; in short, he would have been a capital Professor, if he had not been imbued for seven years—steeped—in Tractarianism.”

Metropolitical, Visitation; which took him again to Singapore, Madras, Colombo, Bombay, and Simla. At this last place he spent the summer of 1844, chiefly engaged in writing his "*Lectures on the Colossians*."

In November, on his way down from the hills, he had a severe attack of fever, accompanied with delirium, which brought him to the brink of the grave, and rendered a visit to Europe necessary. He, therefore, came down by easy stages to Calcutta, opened his Fourth Visitation, (the charge being *read* for him,) and in May 1845 embarked for England, having first written a letter to his children, "announcing his departure and '*laying on them a solemn charge not to attempt either by word or deed to influence his mind or persuade him to relinquish his conscientious purpose of returning to India.*'"

He had gone out to India in the spirit of Abraham's faith; the greater part of his time in it had been spent in wandering from place to place looking forward—not to a retirement in England, but to a City that has imperishable foundations. England was now to him a foreign land, India his adopted country. Here he had purchased his cave of Machpelah; and here he hoped to deposit his body, as a symbol of the entirety of his obedience to God's call, and of his identification of his own interests with those of the Church in India.

His English visit was cheering and beneficial to him. He mixed largely with representatives of every section of church-sentiment:—visiting amongst others the Bishop of Exeter; who seems to have been struck with the energy and simplicity of his character; and who, writing to him, after his return, said; "No difference of sentiment on points even of grave importance, can impair my regard for you."† His impressions of the state of the Church were favourable. He thought "the number of active, pious, laborious, clergy greatly increased" since he left England.‡

He returned to Calcutta in December 1846; and drove at once, on landing, to his CATHEDRAL, where he found his clergy assembled and ready to join him in the thanksgiving which he then offered up.

* *Life*, II., p. 243.

† *Life*, II., p. 313.

‡ As Mr. Bateman has thought it necessary to introduce into his narrative, with a highly dramatic air, an "impulsive" address which the Bishop delivered to the Propagation Society, soon after landing, it may not be amiss if we suggest to him the desirableness of weighing well what the Bishop says on this very point in his *Farewell to England*; pp. 191 and 192.

Of the history of this Church we must say a few words. In 1838 it had been proposed to add a chancel to St. John's: but the plan which was sent in was not thought satisfactory. About the same time there was a general feeling abroad that a new Church was wanted for Chowringhee. The two projects meeting together suggested a third—the erection of a New Cathedral. The Bishop first announced his idea in March 1839; and, having once given it shape, he proceeded with his usual promptitude* to carry out the idea into act. The Government of India granted the site in June: the first stone was laid in October 8; and that day eight years (October 8, 1847) the Cathedral was consecrated. The total amount subscribed towards it was seven lakhs and a half, five for the building and the remainder for an endowment-fund. Of this the Bishop himself gave nearly one-third, viz., *two and a quarter lakhs*. His liberality indeed was princely throughout his episcopate.

To inquire with some whether so large a sum were wisely expended on one building, were both infructuous, and too much in the temper of those who asked, “Wherefore was this waste?”† All India felt, and still feels, the benefit of having such an example.

Possibly, too, a time may yet come when his larger views about the use of this Church may be realized. He did not think of it simply as a Cathedral and Parish Church. He meant it to be an important help to the work of evangelization. He speaks of this over and over again,—in reports, letters, addresses, sermons—and refers to it as its *main* purpose. By its means he hoped to secure “a fixed and indigenous body of Clergy, dedicated to India alone and for life,” and “learned lecturers on the Evidences.”‡ He told the Archbishop of Canterbury that it was “chiefly ‘designed for a Cathedral Missionary Establishment for six or ‘more canons.’”|| In his last sermon in England in 1846, he

* The following specimen of his energetic punctuality is too good to be passed over. It relates to the fitting up of the New Palace. ‘The moment that the assent of the Government was expressed, he wrote to the builder, who was charged with the alterations and improvements, as follows:—“April 25th. Now is the time. From April 25th to December 25th are eight months. You must have all finished by the latter day. Let not the sun go down before you have made a beginning.” This characteristic note, which was sent at six o'clock in the morning, elicited a corresponding answer the same evening, as follows:—“Agreeable to your orders, both men and materials were sent to the new Palace, and the work was commenced within a few hours after I received your Lordship's favour of this day.—C. MACINTOSH.”’

† St. Mark, xiv. 3—9.

‡ Letter to S. P. C. K. (Report, p. liii.)

|| Farewell to England, App. p. xvii.

said ; " Its NATIVE MISSION is its great and glorious purpose."* And in his 2nd Metropolitcal Charge, (November 1848) he said : " The third object, the most important of all, that of a Native or Mission Church for an indigenous ministry, is necessarily of slow progress. It is not, and will not be, appreciated by the present age. An Indian Cathedral must be for future generations I rejoice to think that in some future period an Indian Bishop may preside over an Indian Chapter and administer divine offices to a crowd of Indian converts in this first Protestant Cathedral of our Eastern possessions."

Of the last nine years of his life our record need only be brief. Between November 1848 and March 1852 he went from Calcutta to Bombay—to Allahabad—to Debroghur in Assam—to Singapore and Borneo. In 1854 he again went as far as Allahabad. In 1855 he performed the highest of episcopal acts, by the consecration of a Bishop for Labuan ;—after which he commenced his Sixth Visitation, and went to Burmah and Singapore.

His step was still quick and resolute ; his eye sight strong ; his spirits cheerful ; his mind active. His punctuality and business-habits remained to the last. We remember his telling with a smile of gratification that Lord Dalhousie had spoken of him to Lord Canning, as " the best man of business he had to do with in India."

At the end of 1856 he had a fall, by which his thigh was fractured ; but although in his 79th year he rallied,—and survived to preach two public sermons† during the darkest days of the mutiny, and to hold another ordination on November 30, 1857. This was his last public act. On the 2nd of January following he was released from his long warfare. A few hours before his death, he scrawled a note to the Archdeacon, which is deciphered thus :

" 7½ p. m. All going well, but I am dead almost. D. C. Firm in hope."‡

In his last will (made in 1856) he directed that plain tablets should be put up in the Cathedral, in Bishop's College Chapel, and in St. Mary's, Islington, recording his name, time of birth, period that he was Vicar of Islington, and Bishop of Calcutta, date of death, and that nothing more should be added but this text, "*God, be merciful to me a sinner.*"

Few men, we may safely say, lived more entirely through

* Farewell to England, p. 194.

† " On United Prayer," and A Humiliation Sermon."

‡ Compare his *Fourth Charge*, p. 13.

life in the spirit of humble contrition, than he had done. The *subjective* character of his mind led him often to *speak* of this in public. He even concluded his Fourth and Sixth Charges with quotations of this text.* Such evidence of his sentiments ought to have been sufficient. Mr. Bateman seems to have thought otherwise. We deem it right,—we consider it a public duty,—to notice this; for the evil is a growing one. We would deprecate in the strongest possible way the notion that it is necessary for a biographer to drag together all a man's private confessions of sin, and publish them to the world. It is a most injurious practice, and tends to defeat the very object that ought to be aimed at by a man's ownself in registering these private memoranda. If the present practice goes on, all honest men will prefer to forego the advantage of keeping such records. This very memoir supplies evidence confirmatory of what we are saying. Look at what is implied in the following entry:† “January 12, 1830. Twenty-three years have passed since I wrote in this journal. I can scarcely say, why. I believe that I ceased to write, because pride gradually increased, and I could not even describe the state of my soul without some inflation, which spoiled all.” Unless such documents be intended to be strictly and inviolably private, some such feeling will almost certainly creep in, and so the legitimate use of the Diary will be destroyed;—and that, with no advantage to the world at large, for the very thing that constitutes the supposed value of these records to the public is—their (presumed) *abandon* and absolute privacy. If the journal, then, were *not* written with the intention that it should be strictly private, it has no value; if it *were* so written, to violate its sanctity is almost sacrilegious.

Nor is this the only evil. It tends to misrepresent a man,—and through him, religion. The chief characteristic of Christian faith is joy in God,—victory over the world,—fruitfulness in good works. Now when a man has been pursuing his course straight through “the burden and heat of the day,” whatever service he may have done for God, he will, on reviewing his work at the end of the day, be penetrated with a sense of his shortcomings; and the higher he has advanced in real goodness the deeper will be his sense of unworthiness. But if we collect these evening confessions and present them in rapid succession, we give an utterly incorrect impression of the life *as a whole*—something like what Mr. Alfred Smee has so graphically described as the appearance of the landscape during the late

* See also “Sermons and Tracts,” vol. I, pp. 519, 578; and Life, I., p. 229.

† Life: vol. I., p. 272.

eclipse, when perspective was almost lost and "outlines and black shadows" became the leading characteristics.*

But our space is exhausted, and we must hasten to close this sketch;—not, however, till we have attempted to give some reply to a question which many of our readers will (we foresee) have put to us:—*What of his position as a Churchman;—was he 'High-Church' or 'Low.'*

We are answering in the spirit of Daniel Wilson himself, if we say, he was *neither*, or rather he was *both*. In his first printed Sermon (in 1810) he quotes a passage from Pascal to the effect that men frequently run into dangerous error from holding one truth to the exclusion of another; whereas in religion and morals many truths, that *seem* to be conflicting, must be held together.† We all recognize this in certain cases. No well-instructed Christian child would hesitate what to answer, if asked, *do you follow St. Paul or St. James?* It were well, if the same care and pains, which have been bestowed on clearing up the connexion between faith and love, justification and sanctification, predestination and free agency, could be brought to bear on that other question, the relations of the individual believer and of the Church to Christ.

There are two ways of speaking in Scripture corresponding to two important truths. It is written: "Who loved the Church and gave Himself for it:" and also: "Who loved me and gave Himself for me." He is the sound Churchman, who holds both these truths in harmony:—and so we believe Bishop Wilson did. We are far from saying that he always did this with the same degree of clearness: but still this was what in the main he struggled after.

* Few can have attended a Native Church service without being struck with the constant,—the dominant,—recurrence of the words "*pap*" and "*papi*" in the HYMNS. Is this all we can do towards reaching the state of which it is said, "Blessed are the people, O Lord, *that know the joyful sound!*"

To give another instance of the same modern tendency.—In a historical lecture given at Geneva in 1857 by M. Viguet, we have the following passage: "Even the frivolous and worldly *Ocid* produced words of wisdom and thoughts which, coming from his pen, surprise us.....It is he that puts the following *almost Christian sentence* [!!] into the mouth of Medea; "I see that which is right, and I approve of it; and I pursue the most evil courses." (We quote from the English Translation published by Nisbet.) Alas for the prospects of Christianity in India, if we have no more cheering view of it than *that* to bring before the sin-oppressed Hindu.

† Leur faute n'est pas de suivre une fausseté: mais de suivre une vérité à l'exclusion d'une autre. Il y a un grand nombre de vérités, et de foi et de morale, qui semblent repugnantes et contraires, et qui subsistent toutes dans un ordre admirable. *Pensées*, t. ii. p. 175.

(Quoted *Serm. and Tr.*, vol. I. p. 45.)

At first it was natural that the question of his individual, personal, relation to Christ should absorb his whole attention. This was to him the question of questions. And never throughout life did he relax his grasp of it. As to the second question,—the nature and constitution and privileges of the Church of Christ,—it was one that in those days was rarely asked. He had been guided into the knowledge of God by clergymen of the English Church: he was content to be where providence had placed him. They bore with them their own credentials in their scriptural teaching and holy lives. They were to him representatively the Church. He had rather have Mr. Scott on his side than all the authors of the *Bibliotheca Maxima Patrum*. He commonly called him *Father Scott*; and to the end of his life was in the habit of reading through his commentary once a year.

This was the first stage;—in which he was attached to the Church of England chiefly because it was the Church of Newton and Scott and Cecil.

Then came the second stage, when he had examined the character of the English Church for himself. He found that it was distinguished by the profoundest respect for holy Scripture; that it had been a bulwark, in days of darkness and peril, against Romanism, Socinianism, and infidelity: and that its formularies breathed the spirit of the purest piety and devotion. He saw too that it had vast importance as a national institution; and that if its parochial organization were removed there was nothing to take its place.* All this was sufficient for him, *as a fact*. God had led him into what was to him, *actually*, the representative of Christ's Church,—the Dispenser of God's Word and Sacraments to the nation. What its *right* was to occupy such a position, was a question of which we believe no traces occur in his earlier writings. Indeed his cast of mind was eminently practical. "*I dread theories in religion*,"† he once said. Religion was to him a *fact*. God was calling men everywhere to repentance. The work of the Church was to proclaim that call. Providence had called him to be a Minister of the Church. He therefore threw himself, heart and soul, into the field of labour provided for him by the Church; giving effect to all the various portions of her discipline, and doing all he could to extend her organization.

Up to this time, then, we meet with nothing that can in any way be thought to correspond to *Church Principles*. He

* Life: I. pp. 158, 270.

† Tanjore Charge, 1835: p. 70.

might have acted as he did, if he had believed the Church to be simply an aggregation of volunteer units held together by the bonds of expediency.

But now we arrive at a third stage in his history. He was consecrated Bishop. He entered an order, which from the time of Ignatius downward had been looked upon as the divinely-ordained instrument for the maintenance of the Church's unity. And he came out to exercise these functions in India, where the very presence of heathenism forces on the mind the inquiry, "*Where is your Commission? What are your credentials?*" It was scarcely possible to set aside the theoretical investigation any longer.

Accordingly in his Indian Charges we find him referring to the "unbroken succession of the Apostolical Commission from the Primitive age,"* and speaking of "the Divine authority of the Episcopal Polity."† In one place he goes yet further, and inculcates definitely the duty of "a firm reliance on the 'larger measure of the presence of Christ with His Church than with any schemes which men might devise and substitute.‡'" Here he distinctly adopts the idea, which has exercised so potent an influence on the Churches of England, Scotland, and Germany within the last thirty years:—the idea that the Church stands in a real, corporate, relation, to its Invisible Head, which relation is ordinarily the channel, through which certain privileges flow from the Head to all true and faithful members.

He used this principle, however, not polemically, but as a ground of practical comfort and encouragement. He ever rejoiced in believing that other communities, who, from no fault of their own, had a less perfect organization, were still Churches of Christ.

He had several times (as we have already seen) to bear the imputation of High-Churchism from his friends in England on account of his proceedings in India. He did not attempt to *justify* himself, though he repudiated the charge. As usual, he dreaded *theory*. He felt how momentous assertions on such subjects were. He was not prepared to make them. He had a great practical work pressing upon him, and must do that, using all the helps that God had given him, whether he could minutely explain the rationale of such helps or not. *He must ACT*, whatever the exact degree of weight which belonged to this or that exposition of speculative truth.

* See *First Charge*, p. 19 Sermon on Ap. Comm. p. 26 and *Ordinat. Sermon* 1837.

† Ordination Sermon 1841, p. 81, and App. p. xxiv.

‡ Charge 1838 p. 30.

But admitting that, on the whole, there was a deficiency in Bishop Wilson as regards ecclesiastical sentiment, in its strictest sense; let us boldly avow that he abounded in that which must for ever be the basis of all true Church-feeling,—love and reverence for Holy Scripture. It was the guide of his life;—his daily food;—to use St. Augustine's phrase, *perpetuæ deliciæ ejus*. Whatever other differences there may be between him, and any of his predecessors or successors, here is the golden chain, which, let us hope, will always bind them together in true Unity. He himself delighted to think of this fundamental community of sentiment as stretching down from the first of the line. "The arms of the see of Calcutta," he said, "chosen by the first Bishop will, I trust, never be belied by his successors,—an *unfolded Bible* with the pastoral staff reverently placed, where it ought to be, behind it."*

We have now discharged our task. We undertook—not to write a Panegyric, but—to give a calm and discriminative sketch of the principles and habits of one, on whose memory we, in common with the great majority of our readers, look back with kindly and reverential regard. If we have furnished any suggestions that may lead to a truer appreciation of his single-hearted, devout, laborious, life, our end will have been attained.

* Second Charge p. xxiv.

Ann. V.—*Oudh Administration Report for 1858-59. Published by the Government of India.*

THE policy pursued by the Government of India towards Oudh since the reconquest of the country has been of so marked a character and of so novel a kind, and has also been, up to the present time, so decidedly successful, that we think we are quite justified in bringing to the notice of our readers the leading features of this policy and in recording some of its practical results.

The characteristic mark of the treatment which Oudh has received at the hands of its new master has been a large and consistent liberality. By this term we mean not simply munificence in granting rewards to loyal chiefs, nor magnanimity in condoning or lightly chastising rebellion; but the adoption of enlightened and far seeing views on all the main questions of administration, a liberal construction in the assessment of revenue, a liberal sympathy with the higher classes, a vigorous and, as yet, highly successful effort to enlist the influence of the leading men on our side, and, '*pari passu*,' a never ceasing endeavour to cause this liberality to react to the advantage of the poorer classes, without any direct or unpalatable interference of the officers of the local Government. To understand how the present objects of the administration are being worked out, there is one word which should be borne in the minds of our readers a word which every officer in Oudh should look on as expressing what is the basis of his success and denoting the safest means to ensure it—'*Influence*,' the power of the upright strong willed and just Englishman exerted over those through whom alone he must hope to act, and against whose opposition he will find his best intentions misunderstood, his kindest efforts ineffectual, and his energies thwarted if not wholly thrown away.

Let every officer look on himself as valuable to the Government and an efficient servant of it, in proportion as he feels he possesses the power to do good by the exercise of his influence with the population with whom he is directly brought into contact. Let him by unremitting courtesy and above all by untiring patience make himself an object of resort to those who stand in need of his advice and his assistance, and while compelled, as he often is, and as his sympathies lead him, to stand between the strong and the weak, let him recollect that a permanent alleviation of suffering is more likely to be attained by the mediatory weight of his influence, than by the just exertion of his authority.

But we are anticipating ourselves, we are putting the moral before the fable and shall reserve any further reflections for the latter portion of our article, where they may be properly introduced as applications of the particular facts which we now proceed to discuss without further preface.

The period which it is proposed to consider, is that subsequent to the pacification of the province by Lord Clyde. This may be conveniently set down as beginning with the year 1859. Then opened a new era on Oudh, not because a new policy was then initiated, but because it was then just possible to carry out in all their details the measures which had been decided on as appropriate for the Government of the country. True that some portions of the west and south of Oudh had been for some months comparatively quiet; true that the majority of the Bainswara clan was unresisting or prepared to submit; but there were still heads of revolt which required to be crushed or expelled. Not till late in 1858 did Bence Madho leave the fort and jungles of Shunkarpoor. Not till the last month of that year, did Feroze Shah see that the game was up in Oudh, that the soi disant Royal family were only a purposeless puppet in the hands of a skulking rabble, and that the struggle was only maintainable where the hill and forest of Central India gave a wide field for flight and foray to rebellious restlessness. It was not till 1858 that he saw that he was supporting a dynasty which the enthusiasm of its own country had abandoned, and made his escape by that wild dash across Oudh which is looked on as the most daring feat of the war, and which placed him with the shattered remnants of his free lances in the welcome fastnesses of Central India.

But by the 1st of January 1859 the whole opposition of the rebels in Oudh was concentrated in the body of men who slowly retreated northwards as the veteran general advanced, till they found themselves across the British boundary in the low wooded hills and valleys which form the frontier of Nepal. A wild country, inhabited by a peaceful people under a rule not ours, stopped in the main any further advance on our part. Nearly all the guns and all the munitions of war had previously fallen into our hands, during the different encounters which occurred wherever our forward columns caught up the wary foe. Disorganized and without any chief of military renown, they still fancied that they had secured a retreat whence, refreshed by rest and aided by the sympathies of the Nepalese, they could hereafter continue the contest and raise again the standard of rebellion. False hopes! From the day when the worn-out remnants of the once confident mutineer sepoy entered the wild hill country of Nepal their doom was sealed.

Plundered by the natives, thinned by the desertion of those who longed to exchange the ungenial climate of the north for the sun of their southern villages, and finally decimated by disease which prostrated minds and bodies, they suffered all the miseries which they had themselves inflicted on others; and unable to credit the sincerity of the spirit which offered an amnesty to all past offences, they died in suffering and silence, in forest and in plain, of hunger and sickness, with frightful rapidity.

Some months later a fraction of them, gaunt, famine and fever stricken, victims of combined patriotism and incredulity, returned to Oudh; some to die in our gaols not as prisoners but as hospital patients, and the rest to seek with tottering steps and death stricken limbs the sites of their former happy homes. Happy indeed he who found a home! Many found sad changes—new masters, new interests, new settlers, new grantees had filled *their* places, and the man who in old times had sought his home proud in the distinction of being a British soldier, now crept back to his village a marked and taunted wretch to drag on his days under surveillance and eat the scanty pittance earned by daily toil.

Future years will reveal the true story of the actual suffering caused by the mutiny of 1857, and which re-acted on the authors of it. When time has given confidence to the tongue we shall hear stories from old rebels whose lips fear now seals up. It is still early to expect the 'confessions of a mutineer.' Complicity in the revolt must still wear the colours though it meets not with the reward of crime, but hereafter we shall be able more justly to appreciate the sickening blow under which our enemies have been crushed. Those of our readers who have seen the report of the administration of Oudh for the year, 1858 while the province was in the hands of Sir R. Montgomery, will not want to be more than reminded of the steps then taken to bring about a resettlement of the province.

It having been decided that the Revenue administration should be on a different footing for that devised at annexation, when the general character of the settlement was to deal with small village holders in preference to large Talookdars, the necessary basis for the change was sought for and found in the proclamation of the Governor General of March 1858, which declared the whole of the soil of Oudh (with a few exceptions) to be confiscated, and all rights and titles in it to have ceased. This left the Commander-in-Chief at liberty to inaugurate a new regime. No question of existing interests could hamper him in his future course, and he proceeded at once to remedy the confessed evils which our previous mode of settlement had caused. It

has been usual to refer to the March 1858, proclamation as an empty blast, a dead letter ; but that such was not the case may be learned from the fact that the full penalties of it were enforced against some persistent rebels, who, unable or unwilling to accept the offered amnesty, were either proscribed by us, or placed beyond the pale of negotiation by their own obstinate adherence to delusive expectations.

As a matter of fact, land in Oudh of the annual value of Rs. 12,46,720 (or nearly $12\frac{1}{2}$ lacs) was confiscated under the Governor General's proclamation, and the titles thus vested in Government, have been from time to time given away in rewards to loyal men who did good service in the hour of need. This amount represents an area of about $\frac{1}{8}$ of the whole of Oudh, so that it can hardly be said that a measure which has had such effects, was a dead letter, while too, a further significance is added to it by the fact that every estate now held by a Talookdar in Oudh is held by virtue of a sunnud given under the authority which once deprived him of every acre. But we are harping on old themes, and it is our more immediate object to set before our readers some of the later acts of Government which exemplify the policy pursued towards the province.

Starting then from the 1st January 1859, the date which for convenience we have assigned to the conclusion of the campaign which replaced Oudh fully in the hands of the Civil power, we shall proceed to sketch the course of successive measures adopted for the well governing of the country and the well being of the people.

The system of the Civil Government of Oudh is too well known to our Indian readers to need more than a brief allusion here. The non-regulation principle of the union of all authority in one head, is that adopted in the Punjab. The Chief Commissioner unites in his person the fullest powers of every branch of the Executive, and the principle is repeated in every subordinate officer within the limits of his own jurisdiction.

The collection of Revenue, the Criminal and Civil Courts, the promotion of all works of public utility, such as roads and bridges, the establishment, ferries, bazaars and schools are all vested in the local chief officer, who is termed the Deputy Commissioner. His powers are considerable, and the Code which he is called on to administer is one of stern severity.

Up to the end of 1859 the special Acts XIV., XVI. and XVII. of 1857 were re-enacted and held applicable to Oudh. These enactments, especially XVI., visit all offences against property or person with tremendous penalties. Capital punishment may be legally inflicted in Oudh for burglary if attended with vio-

lence, and the same penalty awaits the disturber of the peace in affrays, once so common in the province, and to repress which it was ordered that the sentence of death might be passed and executed on offenders, even in those cases in which no loss of life resulted from the contest.

But this code was for peaceful times. Up to the beginning of 1859, every Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner in Oudh was to be ex-officio a Special Commissioner under the Acts of 1857; he was thus armed individually and irresponsibly with the powers of life and death. Happily however the exercise of these functions has been rarely called for, and the Criminal Code has been to all intents and purposes no harsher than it is at the time we write.

Death cannot be inflicted without the concurrence of the Chief Commissioner.

In all secondary punishments the Judicial Commissioner has full and final powers.

Transportation for life, in irons and with labor, unlimited fine and *a fortiori* all modifications of these sentences, are vested in that Officer.

Commissioners, sitting as Sessions Judges, can imprison for 16 years, give 200 stripes and impose fines at discretion.

Next in order stands the District Officer, and his range nearly equals that of a Commissioner in the Punjab—seven years' imprisonment, which can be made constructively to involve transportation, 100 lashes and a fine of 10,000 Rs. are the terrors of the law wielded by a District Officer in Oudh.

A Magistrate's full powers belong to a 1st Class Assistant Commissioner; or one of a lower grade may be specially empowered to the same extent. By such officers the infliction of the lash up to 50 stripes, is permitted, but no lower authority awards a punishment so terrible in its severity and in its nature inadmissible of remedy by appeal.

The great use of the lash in Oudh practically simplifies the course of appeals.

These are guided by the simple rule that one appeal lies from the sentencing Court to the next Supreme Court where a confirmation of the previous decision is final on judicial grounds; whereas a difference of opinion opens the door to a further appeal.

The Civil administration may be very briefly disposed of. The Deputy Commissioner is Civil Judge in all the Districts of Oudh except in Lucknow, where there is a special Officer for this Department.

All cases up to Rs. 1000 value are determinable by the Assis-

tant Commissioner, all above that sum are decided by the Deputy Commissioner. The law of appeal is on the same principle as that in criminal cases, and need not be repeated here.

But increased authority in the Civil Officer was not the only instrument used by the Government of Oudh. A strong and well disciplined body of Military Police, who, if any thing, were too much rather than too little of the regular soldier, was substituted for the old Thannah police. In a country lately the battle-field of a national rebellion, it was probable that, till arms were yielded up, and till feelings irritated by defeat and submission, were smoothed down, there might still be a stubbornness which the untrained activity and rude weapons of the "Burkundaz" could not successfully oppose, and which would call for the disciplined line and martial bearing of a well drilled Infantry Regiment, against which the idea of resistance would seldom occur to the native mind. Fifteen Regiments, each 800 strong, were raised, equipped and modelled on the pattern of the Scinde Police. That force, raised by the orders and under the eye of Sir C. Napier, was considered rightly to have answered well the purposes of its constitution. They consisted of Cavalry and Infantry, and had at least as much knowledge of drill and power of formation as any of the irregular troops which have always abounded in India.

Strong Detachments of this Military Police, which up to the end of 1858 was used as a force of regulars and as such had been brigaded with the different columns which traversed Oudh, were placed in the sites of our old Police posts or in those towns which it was considered necessary to overawe. Two English Officers of Police were attached to each District, and 3 Districts were placed under the supervision of a Divisional Commandant. As the column swept northward during the two last months of 1858 these Police took up the posts assigned to them, and completed the work of the bayonet and the sabre in fort and jungle by disarming the whole of the population. The known habit of the people of Oudh, in all except a few of the more peaceful and poorer northern jungle tracts, was for each man to carry a sword, dagger and shield, and to these many added a matchlock. The Brahmins and Rajpoots, to a man, had each their stand of arms. The Mussulmans who chiefly lived in towns were equally furnished, with perhaps a greater preponderance of flint and percussion muskets and pistols. The lower classes used the sword or spear—while the Passee tribe, a numerous and turbulent caste, which under the Oudh Government performed the offices of village watchman, village thief and general marauder, and ran errands for any one who would either pay him or let him

plunder others, used the bamboo bow with great skill and effect. During the whole of the cold weather of 1858-59, disarming went on with extraordinary rapidity. Every district Officer, every Officer of Police attended by a detachment of the force, went from village to village, town to town, and compelled a surrender of guns, firelocks, swords and all the other varieties of lethal weapons which Indian handicraft had in its fertility of imagination devised. Evasion was met by firmness, recusance by fine, and by the lash where fine was inapplicable. The terrors of the law were great. Any person convicted of concealment or non-surrender of arms, might be flogged. Fine, limited only by the means of the offender, and confiscation of part or all of his estates, if the culprit was a land-owner, were also the penalties which had to be braved by those who refused to comply with the English officer's demand for his dearly prized and long worn weapons. But the moral effect of the crushed rebellion, the tacit acknowledgment of deserved punishment, and the obvious fairness in a victor to disarm a possible future foe, expedited the work. In many instances the summons was anticipated by the delivery of arms, heaps upon heaps; in others each individual in a village brought his quota to the Officer's tent pitched in the neighbouring grove. Information was liberally paid for, search was resorted to in suspected cases, and from wells, tanks, ponds, pits, ditches, haystacks, thatchroofs, sheaves of maize and heaps of straw, were raised cannons old and new, ammunition and all kinds of weapons.

Meanwhile every landholder who was not an absentee, i. e. who had sent in his submission and received back his estate in part or in whole, was called on to level his fort, or his entrenched house. Loopholed walls were thrown down, ditches filled up, bastions razed to the ground, and all jungle in the neighbourhood of these ancient fastnesses cut or burnt. The last official returns, including fortified houses dismantled, give the number of forts destroyed as 1575 and the number of arms surrendered

Cannons,	...	...	720
Firearms,	...	...	1,92,307
Swords,	...	...	5,79,554
Other arms,	...	...	6,94,060

Total, 14,66,641

To this total we must add largely to allow for arms carried into Nepal by mutineers and rebels, and which have never returned; for arms flung away in flight or captured in action by the military columns, of which no account was taken;—for arms buried by the owners, 1st, with the object of getting finally rid

of them—2nd, with the object of preserving them, and lastly for arms voluntarily broken up by their owners and converted into other implements. It is calculated that nearly two-thirds of the arms of the province are accounted for by formal surrender in the official reports. The remainder must be put down to the heads above given—and when it is considered that at least half of the arms hidden with a guilty purpose, must have been rendered useless by rust, it may be fairly presumed that the people have lost the use absolutely of five-sixths of the weapons in the country. All land is now liable to forfeiture if concealed arms are found on it. Every title deed contains a condition for surrender of all such; and in some cases confiscation and heavy fine have been inflicted on persons who, in spite of all efforts to open their eyes to their own interests or to a sense of their duty to Government, have persisted in retaining cannon and munitions of war.

But we must hasten onwards. Thanks to the activity displayed by the officers in the search for arms, a long continuance of the high pressure necessary at first, was avoided. With the cold weather every village had been visited, every Talookdar had made a surrender, and the fears of domiciliary search and summary requisitions ceased. Confidence was in a manner restored, amicable relations were begun, and the seeds of future intercourse, and peaceful administrative improvements were sown. The wish of the subject to remove all memory of his past and suspicion of his present behaviour, made him very complaisant and unusually accessible to persuasion. The District Officers were not slow to turn the position of the parties to the mutual advantage of both.

"Argillâ quidvis imitaberis udâ."

We had got our Talookdars at a working temperature, and it was our fault if they were not modelled to our own pattern.

The first step was to define the relations of the village occupants with these their reinstated and acknowledged chiefs. And here it may be worth while to say a few words to those whose ideas of a Talookdar in Oudh are formed according to the generally prevalent notions of the species. A kind of Ishmaelite, against every man and with every man against him, carrying on a perpetual struggle of disloyalty to the royal lieutenants, a deathless feud against his neighbours, breathing an inexhaustible spirit of cruelty and oppression against his luckless peasants, is the usual outline which is easily filled up to taste from the published Records of the internal state of Oudh in former years. But though instances did exist where authority was defied, where family quarrels were perpetuated between rival neighbours,

where exaction and rack-rent existed to the ruin of the cultivator, such was not the normal or prevalent state of things. A rebellious chief was generally a good landlord possessing the affection of his tenantry, for it was the unity of his following which enabled him to oppose the demands of the state; and it may be fairly said that so inveterate had the principle of large holdings become, that it was the exception to find small independent proprietors who had not allied themselves, as inferior to superior to some powerful landlord, either from ties of kin or preferring a secure dependence to the perilous enjoyment of an undefended isolation. This position, now generally acknowledged to be the true one, had been studiously ignored at annexation. Every man in Oudh, who held two villages was assumed to have one more than his share; force must have wrested it from some weaker but rightful owner, and the accumulation of such property was only evidence of more inveterate, more unscrupulous, or more successful iniquity.

But times were changed. Acknowledging the natural relation of the poor to the rich, of the weak to the strong without troubling ourselves to account for it, we are grown wiser and are not careful to intermeddle with the established status of the parties. To tie the upper class by a lease of his land at a low rate to those who lived on it, would be to deprive him of all share in improved cultivation or prosperous seasons and would be also premium on indolence. On the other hand to leave the peasant entirely at the mercy of men, who, though generally alive to the folly of overtaking the working classes, would sometimes gratify dislike by oppression, would not be fair.

It was decided that the inferior village proprietors should be maintained in the possession of all the rights and privileges they were found to be enjoying at the time of annexation. But often the recorded rent-rates were absurdly low, the object of a low rent roll being to present a small surface for taxation to the Collector of the Government Revenue. Large sums under various miscellaneous heads were paid over and above the recorded rent, and those were not by any means all illegal seigniorial exactions—but willingly conceded as the lord's just dues by his tenantry. It was ruled by the Chief Commissioner that all these cesses that were not unjust in their nature nor excessive in amount should cease to be paid separately, and should henceforth be consolidated with the nominal rent of the holding into one specific sum. Then a great step was taken. No less than a record of these consolidated rent payments was carried out. Printed forms of pottahs or leases were supplied in thousands and each man's

quota was entered in this by an arrangement between himself and the Talookdar, and this paper was filed by himself, as his touchstone in future questions of rent, in the record department of the District Officers. The ease with which this apparently intricate operation was performed was wonderful. In a few months nearly every village in Oudh had filed the attested document which was to regulate its future payments to the Talookdar. These leases will be reviewed and determined on fresh data at the ensuing regular settlement: in the meanwhile a fertile source of ill-feeling and contention has been removed.

But at this stage of the proceeding a new difficulty was brought to light.

With characteristic speciousness of submission, the landholders had apparently met our views in this matter with the greatest readiness; but time developed in them the true state of their feelings. A word dropped here and there, an expression in a petition, an unwillingness to invest money in land showed that the general feeling of the Talookdars was that the whole of our policy with regard to them was a temporary make-shift, a fair veil to cover far other purposes. "Only," said they "let our forts be well levelled and our guns all given up, and our jungles cleared, and we shall see a different order of things. Our present lot is too good to last. Can a Government which ejected us in 1856 from our rights, in defiance of lawful claims and long possession, now have gone so completely on the other tack, and intend to hold us in possession against the clamorous sub-proprietor?" "Our rebellion is not so easily forgiven, and our present exaltation is only to blind us to a coming downfall."—

It was absolutely necessary to dispel this self-imposed illusion. A mistrust between us and our subjects was the worst of terms on which we could stand—it made everything a hollow pretence—no confidence necessitated no progress, and no progress at such a time would at once turn into a relapse. Nor was it advisable that the village occupant, who still hoped against hope that all he saw was an unsubstantial fabric to be dissolved as soon as opportunity offered, when he was again to be taken by the hand and set up as lord in his own right of *his* fraction of the common holding, should encourage any longer these illusory dreams. Better that he should know that his position was a final one, and learn to acquiesce in it as he had done before, than that he should nurse his discontent and his expectations in the idea of a good time coming of humiliation for his landlord and triumph for himself.

Impressed with the importance of counteracting these ideas,

the Chief Commissioner addressed the Government of India, urging it to give the stamp of finality to the settlement which had been made in Oudh. Some act of the Supreme Government, he saw, was wanted to give to the assurance the requisite weight, and make it doubly sure to the mistrusting minds of the native population. It was pointed out that the unsettled state of men's minds was a more instant and crueller injury than the sudden annihilation of hopes founded on claims which we had once recognised no doubt, but which never could be realized unless the principle of the Talookdaree settlement were to be abandoned.

The expected fruits of the new policy were being retarded by the intervention of the cloud of doubts which hung between the state and the people. The sympathies of the aristocracy, to enlist which on our side the Government of India had ostensibly abandoned its policy of 1856, were being chilled and weakened. To decide the point once and for ever was to teach all parties what they had to look to for the future, what permanency of their lot they might reckon on, and to enable them with minds freed on the one side from idle fears and on the other from groundless hopes, to appreciate the reality which surrounded them.

The 20th October will be long a memorable day in the annals of Oudh.

The entourage of a Viceroy is always imposing; and the Governor General of Hindustan needs not to stint a magnificence which his swarthy subjects look on not as the body but the very soul of power. An escort as large as many of the Brigades which recently traversed Oudh in less peaceful style, an imposing array of tents in which the internal luxury is only adequately vouched for by the external display, a long line of march, in which Cavalry, Artillery and Infantry stretch far as the eye can see and mark their advance by clouds of dust which magnify their masses, a ceaseless locomotion of elephants, camels, carts, led horses and carriages, form an amount of disturbance and spectacle that gradually impresses the beholder with the magnitude of the event and the importance of the personage who is the centre and moving spirit of the pageantry.

Our Indian readers will have seen or read of these things till use has dulled the powers of admiration, but among the many tableaux of triumphal entries and state processions which thickly strewn the path of Lord Canning in his late progress through upper India, we will undertake to say, that on no occasion was there a feeling of deeper interest awakened in the minds of all concerned than when the Governor General made his entry into the lately conquered city of Lucknow. Space

does not permit us to enlarge on the spectacle which will long live in the recollections of those who, with ourselves, saw the glories of that day. We must omit the stately march from the entrance of the city up—up by slow steps, to the bristling ramparts of the Muchee Bawun Fort. We must not linger to paint the scene as the line rolled on its interminable length in the ruddy gleam of the new risen sun which well set off the moving figures between the crowds of still statue-like natives lining the way, and which lit up with a painter's tint the buildings which lay on the route of march. Past the key of Lucknow, past the old Baillie Guard which, grim and threatening with a new enceinte of massive earthwork, thundered out a Royal salute as the cortege rode on, on through the Civil Lines to the wooded grounds of the Martiniere where the viceregal tents were pitched we must conduct the reader hurriedly, and close the scene by a brief picture of the event which, more than any other in that brilliant week, gave a deep meaning and a sound practical result to the glitter and grandeur of the show.

There are in Oudh about 300 Talookdars or landholders, whose possessions may be denoted by the more dignified term of Talookas or Estates. To these men a reception by their own king had been an unknown honor, or would have involved a risk of personal peril which the honour could have barely compensated. Some 177 of these were desired to attend at the Durbar to be held at Lucknow by the Governor General of India. Painted as the Oudh Talookdar has been by British colours he has in him more of common humanity than he is often given credit for. He is somewhat simple in his ideas, he is countrified in his appearance, he may be boorish in his manners and ultra-provincial in his dialect. His measurements of things English are not easily taken. He was sorely puzzled at the invitation to the Durbar. What could be the object of his going to Court? He nor his father had ever been there since their grandfather, under a promise of safe conduct, had ventured into the capital and been shot (by dacoits of course) on his way home. He was no courtier and had nothing to say to the Governor General, and the less that august personage could say to him the more happy and easy would he feel. Some sinister plot must be afoot; the Durbar tent would be pitched over a charged mine, and the assembled nobility of Oudh would only be united to be infinitesimally divided limb from limb by an explosion which should blow them into fragments—or the Dragoons, who formed the guard of honour, or the dreaded "Gora Log" (British soldiers) who kept the ground, would be let in to avenge with the bayonet the many bloody scenes.

which had attended the first steps of mutiny in Oudh. Either idea was unpleasant—yet go they must—yes, the ‘hookum’ was given in a way which left no option; no deputations of sons or brothers were commutable for the chief of the house, who never before felt so uneasy in the personal enjoyment of his hereditary honours. Absolute incapacity for travelling from illness was his only hope. Well then he must go, and take his chance with the rest of them—he would only go where the others went. So rummaging out his finest clothes and mounting as many spare and useless servants as he had horses to carry, he set out with some uneasiness to the capital of his country.

Now the above picture, though perhaps more the exception than the rule, is no over-statement of the feelings which many of the landholders entertained towards us and our (to them) utterly unintelligible policy. It was a powerful corroboration of the existence of the sentiments which we have noticed above as held by these chiefs in regard to our settlement arrangements. Nothing less than ocular demonstration of the sincerity and guilelessness of Government would convince these rustic Barons of little faith.

The day, the 26th of October, came. The hour of noon appointed for the Durbar saw the park of the Martiniere thronged with the crowd of English Civil and Military Officers, and a mass of Talookdars, who were to be admitted to the presence of the ‘Lord Sahib.’ The lofty and spacious tents, which form the most striking part of the viceregal encampment, were thrown open to the expectant crowd of courtiers. Tickets of admission had been previously distributed to all whose presence was desired at the ceremony, and a finer sight than met the eye, on entry into the reception tent, could not have been presented. On the left of the throne of the Governor General were seated in rows the full length of the position the British Officers, the uniform of the military contrasting gaily with the sombre black of their Civil comrades. On the opposite side were ranged the Oudh proprietors, a motley group of every age and caste. There was the young lad whom his mother had parted from in terror and distress lest mischief should befall her first born—there was the aged chief who had seen change after change in Oudh, but none so wondrous as the scene his eyes now looked on, there were the fighting chiefs of Baiswarra, who had lived in chronic rebellion with the former sovereigns of Oudh, men who had been bred up to hold their own with matchlock and sword, and oftener seen at the head of their clan in the field than making salaams on the carpet of one to whom they owed obeisance as their lord. All at once a gun from the Artillery

park close by, thunders forth the first note of a Royal salute, and ere the assembled natives have recovered the shock which all their oriental stoicism could not save them from manifesting, another and another discharge usher in the Governor General—and his brilliant staff.

All rise and stand, while acknowledging the obeisances which greet him Lord Canning followed by the Commander-in-Chief slowly passes up to the head of the tent and takes his seat on the throne.

Then follows the business of the day. We will not fatigue our reader with the oft told tale of these impressive ceremonies. They must imagine the Talookdars passing one by one before the presence, and on bended knees presenting his Nuzzur or present of gold coins, the usual tribute which Asiatic custom demands from all who come before a superior. The customary dress of honor is given to each, and those whose loyalty had been manifested in the hour of need, were rewarded with more costly gifts, a few words of approbation, and more than all with the firman which made him master of a grant of lands than which no gift is dearer to a native of Hindostan. The usual courtesies are exchanged, the perfumes and sweetmeats are handed round and expectation waits for the final scene.

Lord Canning rises, and as all rise too, he in an impressive manner and peculiarly earnest tone, which was not lost on those of his audience who could not understand his words, delivered a speech to the Talookdars of Oudh which by its force, clearness and fitness to the occasion, was hailed by all as the exposition of a statesmanlike and eminently wise policy.

We have dwelt at length on this scene not merely to enliven our otherwise dull pages, but to represent vividly to our readers the position of the Chiefs of Oudh before and after the event of the Durbar. The speech of the Governor General, translated and circulated among those who had so much interest in the import of it, was read far and wide in Oudh, and the effect of it was at once traceable in the altered expression of the chiefs to whom it had been addressed. A confident and happy air succeeded the gloomy looks which, in spite of all their efforts, had betrayed the sad doubts which hung about the corners of their minds.

Many a happy individual had received with complimentary expressions from the hand of the Governor General himself the firman which assured him of the permanency of his tenure, all were to receive similar deeds, and all looked on this as the earnest of a security which they had hitherto failed to apprehend. And here, while we leave our landholders in happiness and peace,

to enjoy the prospect which had at last opened on their mental vision, we may properly advert to the impression which for some time pervaded a portion of the Anglo-Indian press as to the real extent of the measure thus happily consummated by Lord Canning. It has been stated that the land revenue in Oudh has been fixed by a perpetual settlement like that of Bengal, the idea of permanence at once carried with it the notion that Government interest had ceased in the future development of the resources of the land. Some said too, that Government had sacrificed large and valuable crown lands to please and set off lately rebellious proprietors,—that the gain was entirely on one side, and the goodwill of the Talookdar had been purchased by precious if not unworthy concessions. A third mis-statement we have seen is that the change of policy has also involved a change of revenue demand, that the proportion taken by Government is now so small that the landholder has no reason to refuse an arrangement which makes his liabilities to Government so much lighter than before. In short the idea prevailed that no new principle had been started, but that the same results might be expected whenever Government was willing to make the same sacrifices to secure them. The facts however will not support any one of the three complexions which have been given to them. The grand principle in the perpetual settlement of Bengal is that the amount of the demand is fixed for ever. In Oudh the assessment of the land revenue, or the amount payable to Government, is the one point left open. True the proportion is fixed, but till the whole term is known, the half of it remains also an unknown quantity. It will be the work of future years to discover and assess the value of the land produce in Oudh, and the measures for carrying on the regular survey are already begun.

The second error may be at once corrected by a statement of the fact that in Oudh there were no crown lands i. e. no lands held in proprietorship by the state and tilled by it. The proprietary right to such land as escheated to the sovereign—a rare occurrence—was always vested in some person, usually a courtier, whose influence with the revenue minister enabled him to secure the much desired prize. Much land indeed became the property of our Government owing to the confiscation under the proclamation of March 1858, but no acre of that land was ever looked on as more than a source whence the fidelity of our allies could be best rewarded. The whole fell into the hands of Government, to pass away again at once under grant and sunnud of the Governor General to some deserving loyalist. It never has been the policy, nor could it serve the interests of Government, to become landholder in India—and it has only

acted on long established and invariable principles, in the disposition which it has made of the forfeitures which the chance of war has lately thrown into its hands in Oudh.

Neither has the contentment of the native population been purchased by sacrifice of revenue, as the mis-statement which we have placed third in order would imply. The assessment which was made at annexation has been adopted now. The Talookdars, in so far as they have superseded the village proprietary then dealt with, pay the same revenue to Government as that demanded in 1856—and the present measure can only claim the advantages of a permanent settlement, in so far as it has removed all doubts as to the parties who are to be admitted to engage for the payment of the Government demand.

Where a Talookdar has been thus admitted the decision in his favor has been declared irrevocable. His superior right is recognized and the inferior proprietors; while secured in their just rights, have been permanently subordinated to him. The natural order of Indian society has thus been preserved. Not so with the claims of rival proprietors; these, as being the rights of equal parties, are reserved as open questions; and any injustice which is brought to the notice of the authorities, is capable of present enquiry and redress. Such cases however have been comparatively rare, and the tranquillity of the present arrangement has been still further promoted, by reserving all such questions, to which present attention does not seem necessary, to the next or regular period of the settlement, when the information acquired by the professional survey and the other data amassed in the progress of the measure, will enable the Civil Officers to deal with these questions with greater ease and more intimate knowledge of the facts.

But the social position of the Talookdar, as ameliorated by the wise policy of those statesmen to whom have been entrusted the interests of Oudh, has not yet been fully described. At the risk of wearying our readers, we would beg of them to follow as we detail, step by step, the measures which were from time to time enjoined to promote this object.

To give the greatest freedom of action to the well directed influence of these native gentlemen, it was desirable that, while taught that their responsibilities were enhanced, they should at the same time feel that no petty feelings of suspicion or jealousy interfered with the liberty of their actions. It is well known that one great gulf which separates the English Officer from his native subjects, is the Native Executive Officer through whom the two parties usually correspond. Those gentlemen who from birth, from position and from rank are less patient of the annoy-

ances to which native officials in power are never slow in subjecting them, are estranged from us by the influences at work poisoning the ordinary channels of official communication. No native of rank would willingly bring himself into contact, as an inferior and as a suitor, with those whom he felt were beneath him in social status and importance.

Unhappily too the behaviour of the official was not calculated to reconcile him to his interference. The Tuhseeldar, or native officer of revenue, delighted to show his own consequence by making himself officially disagreeable to one whose word was law in his own ancestral domain, but who, once in Court, was the equal of his lowest peasant, and a defenceless object for all the petty impertinences of authority. To liberate him from this galling yoke and assure him, in all circumstances, of that consideration which his position fairly claimed, was a necessary and welcome measure. It was a measure which would go far to complete the work in hand, and one which, in the creation of cordial relations between us and our most powerful subjects, might, it was confidently hoped, have the most important and happiest results.

Those who have studied the character of natives of birth and influence and independent position, will understand us when we say that so long as the Talookdar labored under the annoyances which he might daily meet with, while subjected to the discourteous official who, by encouraging his peasants to prefer appeals against his decisions which they heretofore had never dared to question, could at any moment place him in the undignified position of a litigant cast in a paltry suit for rent; his honours, his estates, his rank were not worth having. A splendid rent roll was dearly purchased by loss of independence, and to become a pensioner on his own estate liable to be defied by the meanest cooly on it, was a position which turned all our gifts into ashes, our grants into gall and our rule into everlasting bitterness.

The loss of arms, the demolition of his fort, the surrender of his cannon were flea-bites in comparison to the sharp thorn of personal degradation which rankled perpetually in his side. He could understand that a strong civilized Government would not tolerate a fort which defied it, and armed men whose only object could be to thwart its authority or commit a breach of its peace, but he would always think with regret of the good old times when, though plundered by a rival, or driven from his fired home by a Chukladar, he was still a chief among his own people, and brooked no divided authority in his clan.

The District Officers were accordingly desired to correspond directly with the Talookdar in the form of khuts or letters.

This prevented all chance of applications on one side and orders on the other being misrepresented or tampered with by intermediate influence. A proper style of address, suitable to the position of the party, was enjoined, and these letters were to supersede all the curt and summary formulas in which the usual processes, summonses and notices of the Courts are couched. But further, in some instances District Officers were encouraged, whenever a complaint was preferred against the Agents of a man of property, to send the petition of plaint to the Talookdar himself with a letter expressing a hope that he would take the trouble to repair any injustice which had been committed, but that if he was not able to do this, the case would be tried in the Courts in the ordinary way. This had the effect of putting the Talookdar on his mettle. It was seldom in his interest that the influence of his Agent had been exerted, but more often in a dispute between two sub-tenants in which the interest of the landlord was not at stake, and his interference would probably be that of an impartial arbitrator.

But whether the proceeding resulted in an amicable compromise effected out of Court, or was ultimately decided in Court, the practice involved an interchange of ideas and actions between the Talookdar and the Deputy Commissioner which was at least desirable. To get these men to undertake their responsibilities in a straightforward and manly way, to get them to feel that their own interest and dignity might be consulted at the price of a little trouble in investigating alleged wrongs and reconciling conflicting interests, was a great step, and paved the way for the final experiment of entrusting the most fit of these hereditary chiefs with magisterial and revenue powers. This measure was in fact but the corollary of the preceding measures. To associate the leading men of the aristocracy with us in every branch of the administration, so far as their influence could be beneficially used, was the basis of the system; the investment of the most fit and most able with judicial powers was the capital which crowned the work.

The late Chief Commissioner, Sir Robert Montgomery had recommended the bestowal of petty magisterial powers on some of the leading Talookdars. The present Chief Commissioner warmly advocated this wider scheme. Deeply impressed with the importance of the measure and anxious to devote himself to the realisation of it, Mr. Wingfield strongly urged Government to confer on a small number of the most able and influential landholders in Oudh the criminal and revenue powers of an Assistant Magistrate and Collector within their several jurisdictions.

The experiment was one which required care. To trust such

powers in hands of individuals whose ability and integrity did not afford a security against the abuse of them, would be to peril the whole principle involved—and this was one of no ordinary import. Gradually had the Government worked up to this point by the use of liberal and consistent measures, and now it was going to test the value of the men who had been the objects of its care, and to estimate the worth of the material in the working up of which it had taken such pains and trouble. Whether the moment for making the experiment was not somewhat premature may be doubted by some, who, though in favor of the measure, mistrusted the suitability of the men, but if they could be found fit for the exercise of the functions with which it was proposed to intrust them, there was nothing to be gained by delay. Nay the present temper of the Talookdar afforded a seasonable time for the trial—and now it was that he was most accessible to external influences; there was also this argument, that the existing Chief Commissioner was ardently devoted to the project, and in the deep interest he would take in its working and in his selection of the fittest men for the office lay the greater guarantee of success.

Six men were chosen in whose ability trust could be placed, and these men were inducted into the Magisterial Office by Mr. Wingfield in person before a large gathering of their clansmen and dependants. These were told what was the nature of the powers with which their chief was now invested, and enjoined to pay him that respect and obedience as their local 'Hakim' which they had hitherto paid as to their natural head.

We believe that up to the present time Government has had no reason to repent of the confidence which it has entrusted to these Native Magistrates, but on the contrary that the experiment has succeeded beyond expectation. The facilities which their position gave them for the administration of the law in those petty criminal cases which so vex our Magistrates, and often entail such delay or annoyance on the seekers for justice, render their tasks comparatively easy. Their subordinates will serve them far more faithfully than they will us, their foreign masters, and their own notions of justice naturally coincide more with those of the parties between whom they are acting as Judges. It has not been thought proper to entrust them with power to flog, and this reservation, in Oudh, where the lash is freely prescribed, brings their proceedings so constantly before the Deputy Commissioner of the District, who must sanction their sentence of stripes before it can be carried out, that there can be but little fear of any abuse of power by the Talookdar not being at once exposed. Moreover their decisions in criminal

cases are reviewed every month by the Chief Commissioner. Our readers will have seen that the Supreme Government has lately extended the principle to the Punjaub, and has also largely increased the number of Oudh Talookdars vested with these powers. We augur the best results for this policy if it is cautiously watched and promoted by the influence of the District Officers; but whatever limitation of the principle Government may see fit to lay down after sufficient trial, there can be no doubt that the introduction into the Talookdaree tenures of Oudh, of a Revenue administration devised for the village communities of the North Western Provinces, could not have resulted in anything but dissatisfaction and failure.

The internal reforms and improvements which have kept pace with the more important measures above detailed, now demand from us such notice as our limits can afford.

Perhaps the most important of these is the abolition of vernacular deposition writing in our Courts. In all cases the Judge who tries the case makes his own record in his own hand. In the pettiest cases a mere note of the purport of the depositions of the witnesses is made, and this is all that appears to record the trial; but in more serious charges an abstract of the current of evidence as it flows from the witness is given, while in the most important or intricate cases, and in these alone, are the replies of the witness to the Magistrate recorded in extenso. All questions are put by the Judge; and this system, by checking the interference of the subordinate Court officials, has raised the administration of justice immensely in the estimation of the people, and has had the happiest effects in simplifying the course of the trial and abbreviating the duration of the proceedings. Formerly it was the reproach of our Courts that the Judge did not confront the parties before himself and hear the charge, evidence, and reply from the parties themselves, but that often the whole was committed to writing by a clerk in technical terms quite unintelligible to the poorer classes, and subsequently recited before the Hakim in a voice and tone defying the comprehension of the deponents, who stood in amazement till the practical enforcement of the final order of punishment or release gave them to understand that their case was disposed of.

This union of the duties of recorder, Judge, prosecutor and Counsel for both parties in the English Officer, naturally increases the labor of the Magisterial Office, but this has in great measure been lightened by the introduction of a highly paid Officer, who, under the title of Clerk of the Court, relieves the presiding Judge of all routine duties which formerly so needlessly

occupied a large portion of time which might have been more usefully employed in purely judicial labors.

This Clerk of the Court, or Moonsarim, is not merely a Serishtadar under another name, and irresponsible for his acts as the latter officer who is supposed to do all he does under the orders of the Magistrate, but he is responsible for the separate uncontrolled discharge of all that lies in his department. Thus he scans petitions in Civil suits, points out informalities in them, and sends those suitors who have mistaken the functions of the Civil for those of the Criminal Court (and these are not a few) to their proper quarter. He consults the cause list and if an action clearly lies, he causes the issue of summons and fixes a day for the presence of both parties for settlement of the issues. By this division of labor much relief is afforded to the Judge, and tasked as he is with the preparation of his English records he needs all the aid which his subordinates can give him.

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There all acts are fair, and with no bonds to show, a good deal of hard swearing is the inevitable result, the Judge having ultimately to decide on the relative values of two diametrically contradictory assertions. Thus small loans of money—conditional sales, mortgages, contracts for supply of articles of trade and agreements as to price, are daily made with no bonds and without witnesses, and in the most favorable cases the record, if there be one, is a casual entry in the village money-lender's loose scraps of paper, which he calls his "book." The advisability of remedying this state of things needed no arguments to be clear to the understanding of any one, and the establishment of public registrars in towns and villages, who for a trifling fee are bound to register

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The Cazees in Mahommedan towns and the Ex-Canoongoes, who, under our economical revenue system, have no employment, have been, as far as possible, made use of for this purpose ; and the gains thus thrown into their hands render them more tolerant of the loss of their professional posts. These Ex-Canoongoes have been most liberally maintained in the possession of their rent-free tenures for life, in order that they may have ample means of subsistence until resort to registration shall make the office of notary yield a sufficient income.

We have already alluded to the Military police of the province and shall have occasion to notice them again, but there is another branch of this subject to which we must devote a short space. This is the Native police or the Chowkeedars. The existence of self-supported local police in every town and village of India is of ancient date. It is one of the approaches which Asiatics made very early to civilization, but beyond which they probably would not have advanced for ages to come. The mixed elements of which modern Indian society is composed were at one time, we may suppose, of a far more discordant and conflicting nature than we see them now after centuries of amalgamation. The poor Rural population of India may be said to live in the open air. The men, when not occupied in the fields, congregate in the open space under the shady tamarind or neem tree which usually occupies some central spot in the village ; or by the well they sit grouped with that peculiar expression of stolidity which must be held to denote satisfaction and enjoyment, as it is invariably worn by the Hindustani when he indulges in squatting on his heels—an occupation which as being clearly less sensual than sleeping or eating, we consider to be the highest and most intellectual relaxation which they voluntarily engage in.

The women of this class carry on their household work inside the small mud or wicker enclosure which fronts every house. The shelter of the roof is more for exceptional than usual resource, and this method of living exposes them much to the depredations of thieves. These are one of the most ancient institutions of India, and are professional plunderers, either resident or in

peripatatic gangs, ostensibly of travellers, but really of plundering vagabonds.

Protection of self, the first law of nature, induced the laboring classes in open villages to provide for the safety of themselves and their property, by appointing an individual as the public guard and watchman of the little commonwealth, and on the principle of setting a thief to catch a thief the members of this force were invariably selected from the classes which were most notorious for thievery. To the inevitable tendency which every profession in India has to become hereditary these village police formed no exception, and we find them now, not as individuals but as families, in every village in Oudh, their services not being confined to their original limits, but at the disposal of the headman as public servants, to watch crops and thrashing floors, to kill the wild pig and antelope which destroy the sugar-cane and growing wheat, to run on errands, to summon tenants on rent day, and finally to act as guides to all travellers, in which last capacity they are mostly known to our English readers. Their remuneration was derived from rent-free land, dues on harvests, marriages, &c. It was considerable for it supported an entire family, and the office was much prized. Indeed Oudh possessed a valuable indigenous system of village police.

The discovery and repression of crime had never been a leading feature in the administration of the Government of Oudh by its Native Rulers. Such duties, if performed at all, were left to the local magnates, and unless the career of an offender was marked with the commission of crimes which constituted him a public nuisance, or carried the cry for aid to the ears of the Court or Resident, the culprit, if caught, expiated his offence on the spot; being either cut down by the hand of the aggrieved party, or more formally punished by mutilation, fine or corporal inflictions at the order of the Zemindar or headman of the village. There did indeed exist a channel for the communication of all important matters to the Government in the reports of the news-writers, but these officials had degenerated into the creatures of the local executive, and gave only so much of the truth and such colouring as it suited them to give.

There was then no direct connection between the rural police and the paid Officers of Government in Oudh when it fell under British rule, and one of the first steps of the then administration was to introduce the system which prevailed in our older provinces. This system, according to which the chowkeedar is paid a money salary from a cess imposed on the Zemindars, makes the chowkeedar, from being the servant of the Zemindar, the servant of Government, and as the late Lieutenant Governor

N. W. P., Mr. Thomason, has described him, a disreputable ill-paid burkundaz. It is unpopular with all classes; with the village population because several villages are combined to make a single charge with a good salary and thus each village no longer possesses its own chowkeedars; with the Landholders whose authority is weakened, and with the chowkeedars many of whom lose their employments and who found their old perquisites go further than a salary in money.

But with the disposition which our Government has shewn in Oudh to ally itself in the most complete manner with the influential men of the country, and to press their influence into the aid of its own officers, there have been found some difficulties in adhering to the above detailed system, and the Chief Commissioner has considered it advisable to try the experiment of a return to the old method. The result has been to replace the native chowkeedar in his natural position of servant to the landed proprietor, and to leave to the latter the responsibility of reporting crime. Such a course was inevitable in those estates where the proprietor was not only to discover but magisterially to punish offenders. In these cases the responsibility is throughout his and his alone, and he has to answer for the peace and security of the population on his land just as the Magistrate in his more extended jurisdiction over a district. Nor do we see, for our part, that it is any other but a fair extension of the one great principle of the Oudh Government, to throw this same responsibility on every landholder as far as possible. He never was, in the older provinces, exonerated from the duties which his position entailed on him. He could always be taken to task for failure in co-operating with the executive in the repression and discovery of offences—and when the Oudh Government had determined that this responsibility should not only be enforced in exceptional cases but as a general rule, it is, we repeat, but fair to leave the landholder perfectly free to discharge his duty in the manner he found most easy. To deprive him of the control of the machinery and to exact work, was truly to ask for bricks and not to give the straw, and this was often and forcibly represented by themselves as a novel and unfair position from which they appealed to the sense of the executive to relieve them. This has been done, and the few months which have elapsed since the restoration of the village watchman to his original sphere have not given any reasons to regret the change.

The financial embarrassment in which the Government of India found itself on the close of the mutiny had the natural effect of turning attention to all the chief sources of revenue with the

purpose of seeing whether any improvements in management, or decrease in the expense of collection, might present themselves as means to fill our impoverished treasuries.

The Government of Bengal early turned its attention to the system of Abkaree management. For the sake of our non-Indian readers we may premise that Abkaree is the duty which is paid to Government on the retail of spirits and drugs. The usual and most inexpensive plan pursued by native Government and followed by us is to farm this duty. Taking a district or sub-division of a district as an area, the monopoly of spirits and drugs is let out to the highest bidder, who repays himself by the retail of the articles and is protected by the excise laws from contraband dealers. This method has many circumstances to recommend it, but, it had many grave drawbacks, and it was desirable to know whether any other system would be free from the same evils and yet prove more productive. The Government of India therefore directed that the system of *direct* management or of Sudder distilleries should be given a trial. The general result of enquiries among the Collectors of Bengal as to the possibility of increasing the revenue by a higher duty than eight annas (equal one shilling) a gallon proved that in the opinion of those gentlemen the spirit was not capable of bearing a higher price than that already demanded.

Mr. Carnegy, the Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow, tried the Sudder Distillery system, and met with a decided success in the attempt. Lucknow is a large and densely populated town of at least 400,000 inhabitants, a large proportion of whom are of a low class, and vicious and profligate. In such a town the consumers of spirits form naturally a large proportion of the population, and thus the extent of the operations gave a favourable avenue for a speedy trial of the point at issue. One Sudder Distillery was established in the city itself—all others situated in the arrondissement were suppressed, and all retail venders of the article were supplied from the head quarters of manufacture. This was carried on under the superintendence of a native contractor, who manufactured the liquor at $1\frac{1}{2}$ anna a wine quart bottle. It is hardly fair to compare the revenue under this system with the year 1856 which is the only year in which the contract system has been adopted in the city of Lucknow since the annexation. That was an exceptional year, but the rise of the revenue from Rs. 58,000 in that year to Rs. 80,961 in 1859-60, is not only to be attributed to this cause, but to the superior method of direct management. After a few months, during which the experiment was restricted to the city and suburbs, Mr. Carnegy extended it to the whole district, at

first establishing a Distillery at each Tehseel, but ultimately the manufacture was confined to the Central still at Lucknow. The first three months after the adoption of the new system of management, showed a loss in the receipts as against the contract system, but experience in the management having been acquired the succeeding months shewed an increase on the former plan* of Rs. 1793 while consumption and consequently intoxication were greatly diminished. In round numbers it is calculated that while the returns under the old contract system may be put at Rs. 75,000 the direct management will return Rs. 1,25,000.

Two qualities of spirit were distilled; one about 30 degrees below London Proof, was sold at a price which gave an excise duty to Government of 1-0-6 per gallon. The other, about 25 per cent. above London proof, realized a profit on excise duty to Government of 1-11-6. Thus the feasibility of the spirit duties being raised above the 8 annas a gallon, which was considered in Bengal the maximum that under general circumstances would be obtained, has been clearly shown.

But it would not be fair to generalise from the particular instance of Lucknow under the able superintendence of Mr. Carnegy to the several districts of the province. So much depends on the interest which the individual district officer may take in the operations and the careful selection of the agency, that the Chief Commissioner has not insisted on the introduction of the system into all the districts to the same extent. One Distillery on this principle, however, is to be established at each Sudder Station, where it can be more immediately under the supervision of the Deputy Commissioner, and the method of dealing with the other sub-divisions in his jurisdiction is left to the option of the officer himself. The high prices, however, realized at Lucknow cannot be expected among the poorer agricultural classes, who are naturally more temperate and also under less temptation to spend their money in drink. It may however be mentioned that at the Sudder Stations of the poorest districts of the province, the Sudder distillery system has proved highly remunerative and at the same time conducive to morality.

* The figures are

Six months under direct management,	...	...	...	Rs. 18,847
Do. Contract,	...	...	...	17,054
Increase,	...	...	...	1,793

It must be remembered that the first three months of the six shewed a decided loss so that the profits of the three last, made when the new system had got into work, have to be set against a large former deficit.

Objections have been made on the score of it being undignified for Government to engage directly in the traffic of liquor, but so far as enquiry has elicited the feeling of the natives on this point it does not appear that this objection has represented itself to their minds, and that the expression of the feeling where it has occurred may be ascribed to the unpopularity with which the spirit dealers now thrown out of employ naturally regard an invasion of their trade. The better classes do not sympathise with them, there is no tax which is to the native mind so legitimate as the excise on spirits, and the method which brings consumption to a minimum, and revenue to a maximum, is in the view of the majority, the best. Nobody sympathises with the would-be sot in India; any difficulty he may meet in the attempt to indulge his vicious propensity is considered as voluntarily incurred and to be a laudable discouragement of intemperance. Now it appears that the Sudder Distillery system, if it be fully carried out and no half measures permitted, must be the best for lowering the consumption and raising the receipts. The Government has the monopoly of the trade and is only prevented from charging too high a price by the certainty that as men will drink spirits they will be driven to contraband stills and smuggling if the legitimate method of supply is beyond their means.

The whole question however is now confessedly on its trial and it would be premature to infer much from our present experience, we will therefore dismiss the subject with the concluding remark that the increased revenue from this source in the Lucknow district has been accompanied with decreased consumption of spirits. A fact from which those who look at the matter from a moral point of view may draw their own conclusions.

The constitution of the Military Police has been sketched above. This body has been much reduced in number and comprises now 1,554 cavalry and 7,996 infantry—or 9,550 men, and the cost of it now is barely the half of the sum which at first was appropriated to this head of expenditure. The organization and discipline remain unaltered from those first adopted, but the position of the force in reference to the place which it occupies in the executive machine has been materially modified. The Office of Commandant of Division has been abolished and the District Superintendent of Police has less independence of action than formerly, having been subordinated to the Deputy Commissioner, who cannot in fact be responsible for the state of his district unless he has the undivided control of all matters in it.

The inexperience of the Officers of the police, who were all men who had to learn their new duties, made it imperative that

they should receive as far as possible the guidance and advice which the Magisterial authorities could so well have given. But it has been found that the divided systems interposed impassable barriers to this being done, and the only means of rendering the police effective as a detective force has been to place the Officers completely under the control of the District authority. It is to be regretted perhaps that the previous independence which was accorded to the Police Officers has been found in some instances to have unfitted them for co-operation in a subordinate position, but the superior experience of the Magistrate ought in fairness in all instances to be acknowledged by the other party, and time alone is wanted to bring both into harmonious working; means have also been devised for giving police officers a knowledge of criminal business, for it has been found almost impossible for an officer who has not served in a Magistrate's court to appreciate the true value of evidence and successfully to conduct a prosecution.

But the praise which is justly due to the Oudh Police as a protective body needs acknowledgment. Their discipline has well fitted them for the work of overawing the discontented remnants of the rebels who would assuredly have taken advantage of a weak police, to form gangs of armed robbers, and, under the form of dacoits, to keep alive a reign of terror and disturbance. No one acquainted with the Police of the old regime would suppose that the security to property and life which has lately reigned undisturbed in the cities and villages of Oudh would have been attained by anything like the force formerly at the disposal of the old Thannahdars. They were indeed blots in our Executive which rather invited assault, than repressed violence. With means of resistance only equal to those possessed by the villagers themselves, they could at any moment be outnumbered by the coalition of two or more robber gangs, and the shelter of their semi-fortified post seldom gave them courage to hold out beyond the first opportunity of flight which offered itself. A stealthy evacuation of his post on the night succeeding the threat of an assault, and a devious flight in disguise to the head quarters of the district there to relate, with no small disregard to facts, the prodigies of his own valour and the overpowering forces of the enemy, were ordinarily the limits of devotion in the cause of Government, which a good native policeman allowed himself.

But the native of Hindostan, bold enough to venture when the odds in his own reckoning are sufficiently overpowering to present no chance of failure, is not an enterprising creature. A considerable inducement in the way of certainty of success

occupied a large portion of time which might have been more usefully employed in purely judicial labors.

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The women of this class carry on their household work inside the small mud or wicker enclosure which fronts every house. The shelter of the roof is more for exceptional than usual resource, and this method of living exposes them much to the depredations of thieves. These are one of the most ancient institutions of India, and are professional plunderers, either resident or in

peripatatic gangs, ostensibly of travellers, but really of plundering vagabonds.

Protection of self, the first law of nature, induced the laboring classes in open villages to provide for the safety of themselves and their property, by appointing an individual as the public guard and watchman of the little commonwealth, and on the principle of setting a thief to catch a thief the members of this force were invariably selected from the classes which were most notorious for thievery. To the inevitable tendency which every profession in India has to become hereditary these village police formed no exception, and we find them now, not as individuals but as families, in every village in Oudh, their services not being confined to their original limits, but at the disposal of the headman as public servants, to watch crops and thrashing floors, to kill the wild pig and antelope which destroy the sugar-cane and growing wheat, to run on errands, to summon tenants on rent day, and finally to act as guides to all travellers, in which last capacity they are mostly known to our English readers. Their remuneration was derived from rent-free land, dues on harvests, marriages, &c. It was considerable for it supported an entire family, and the office was much prized. Indeed Oudh possessed a valuable indigenous system of village police.

The discovery and repression of crime had never been a leading feature in the administration of the Government of Oudh by its Native Rulers. Such duties, if performed at all, were left to the local magnates, and unless the career of an offender was marked with the commission of crimes which constituted him a public nuisance, or carried the cry for aid to the ears of the Court or Resident, the culprit, if caught, expiated his offence on the spot; being either cut down by the hand of the aggrieved party, or more formally punished by mutilation, fine or corporal inflictions at the order of the Zemindar or headman of the village. There did indeed exist a channel for the communication of all important matters to the Government in the reports of the news-writers, but these officials had degenerated into the creatures of the local executive, and gave only so much of the truth and such colouring as it suited them to give.

There was then no direct connection between the rural police and the paid Officers of Government in Oudh when it fell under British rule, and one of the first steps of the then administration was to introduce the system which prevailed in our older provinces. This system, according to which the chowkeedar is paid a money salary from a cess imposed on the Zemindars, makes the chowkeedar, from being the servant of the Zemindar, the servant of Government, and as the late Lieutenant Governor

N. W. P., Mr. Thomason, has described him, a disreputable ill-paid burkundaz. It is unpopular with all classes; with the village population because several villages are combined to make a single charge with a good salary and thus each village no longer possesses its own chowkeedars; with the Landholders whose authority is weakened, and with the chowkeedars many of whom lose their employments and who found their old perquisites go further than a salary in money.

But with the disposition which our Government has shewn in Oudh to ally itself in the most complete manner with the influential men of the country, and to press their influence into the aid of its own officers, there have been found some difficulties in adhering to the above detailed system, and the Chief Commissioner has considered it advisable to try the experiment of a return to the old method. The result has been to replace the native chowkeedar in his natural position of servant to the landed proprietor, and to leave to the latter the responsibility of reporting crime. Such a course was inevitable in those estates where the proprietor was not only to discover but magisterially to punish offenders. In these cases the responsibility is throughout his and his alone, and he has to answer for the peace and security of the population on his land just as the Magistrate in his more extended jurisdiction over a district. Nor do we see, for our part, that it is any other but a fair extension of the one great principle of the Oudh Government, to throw this same responsibility on every landholder as far as possible. He never was, in the older provinces, exonerated from the duties which his position entailed on him. He could always be taken to task for failure in co-operating with the executive in the repression and discovery of offences—and when the Oudh Government had determined that this responsibility should not only be enforced in exceptional cases but as a general rule, it is, we repeat, but fair to leave the landholder perfectly free to discharge his duty in the manner he found most easy. To deprive him of the control of the machinery and to exact work, was truly to ask for bricks and not to give the straw, and this was often and forcibly represented by themselves as a novel and unfair position from which they appealed to the sense of the executive to relieve them. This has been done, and the few months which have elapsed since the restoration of the village watchman to his original sphere have not given any reasons to regret the change.

The financial embarrassment in which the Government of India found itself on the close of the mutiny had the natural effect of turning attention to all the chief sources of revenue with the

purpose of seeing whether any improvements in management, or decrease in the expense of collection, might present themselves as means to fill our impoverished treasuries.

The Government of Bengal early turned its attention to the system of Abkaree management. For the sake of our non-Indian readers we may premise that Abkaree is the duty which is paid to Government on the retail of spirits and drugs. The usual and most inexpensive plan pursued by native Government and followed by us is to farm this duty. Taking a district or sub-division of a district as an area, the monopoly of spirits and drugs is let out to the highest bidder, who repays himself by the retail of the articles and is protected by the excise laws from contraband dealers. This method has many circumstances to recommend it, but, it had many grave drawbacks, and it was desirable to know whether any other system would be free from the same evils and yet prove more productive. The Government of India therefore directed that the system of *direct* management or of Sudder distilleries should be given a trial. The general result of enquiries among the Collectors of Bengal as to the possibility of increasing the revenue by a higher duty than eight annas (equal one shilling) a gallon proved that in the opinion of those gentlemen the spirit was not capable of bearing a higher price than that already demanded.

Mr. Carnegy, the Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow, tried the Sudder Distillery system, and met with a decided success in the attempt. Lucknow is a large and densely populated town of at least 400,000 inhabitants, a large proportion of whom are of a low class, and vicious and profligate. In such a town the consumers of spirits form naturally a large proportion of the population, and thus the extent of the operations gave a favourable avenue for a speedy trial of the point at issue. One Sudder Distillery was established in the city itself—all others situated in the arrondissement were suppressed, and all retail venders of the article were supplied from the head quarters of manufacture. This was carried on under the superintendence of a native contractor, who manufactured the liquor at $1\frac{1}{2}$ anna a wine quart bottle. It is hardly fair to compare the revenue under this system with the year 1856 which is the only year in which the contract system has been adopted in the city of Lucknow since the annexation. That was an exceptional year, but the rise of the revenue from Rs. 58,000 in that year to Rs. 80,961 in 1859-60, is not only to be attributed to this cause, but to the superior method of direct management. After a few months, during which the experiment was restricted to the city and suburbs, Mr. Carnegy extended it to the whole district, at

first establishing a Distillery at each Tehseel, but ultimately the manufacture was confined to the Central still at Lucknow. The first three months after the adoption of the new system of management, showed a loss in the receipts as against the contract system, but experience in the management having been acquired the succeeding months shewed an increase on the former plan* of Rs. 1793 while consumption and consequently intoxication were greatly diminished. In round numbers it is calculated that while the returns under the old contract system may be put at Rs. 75,000 the direct management will return Rs. 1,25,000.

Two qualities of spirit were distilled; one about 30 degrees below London Proof, was sold at a price which gave an excise duty to Government of 1-0-6 per gallon. The other, about 25 per cent. above London proof, realized a profit on excise duty to Government of 1-11-6. Thus the feasibility of the spirit duties being raised above the 8 annas a gallon, which was considered in Bengal the maximum that under general circumstances would be obtained, has been clearly shown.

But it would not be fair to generalise from the particular instance of Lucknow under the able superintendence of Mr. Carnegie to the several districts of the province. So much depends on the interest which the individual district officer may take in the operations and the careful selection of the agency, that the Chief Commissioner has not insisted on the introduction of the system into all the districts to the same extent. One Distillery on this principle, however, is to be established at each Sudder Station, where it can be more immediately under the supervision of the Deputy Commissioner, and the method of dealing with the other sub-divisions in his jurisdiction is left to the option of the officer himself. The high prices, however, realized at Lucknow cannot be expected among the poorer agricultural classes, who are naturally more temperate and also under less temptation to spend their money in drink. It may however be mentioned that at the Sudder Stations of the poorest districts of the province, the Sudder distillery system has proved highly remunerative and at the same time conducive to morality.

* The figures are

Six months under direct management,	...	...	...	Rs. 18,847
Do. Contract,	...	...	...	17,054
Increase,	...	...	...	1,793

It must be remembered that the first three months of the six shewed a decided loss so that the profits of the three last, made when the new system had got into work, have to be set against a large former deficit.

Objections have been made on the score of it being undignified for Government to engage directly in the traffic of liquor, but so far as enquiry has elicited the feeling of the natives on this point it does not appear that this objection has represented itself to their minds, and that the expression of the feeling where it has occurred may be ascribed to the unpopularity with which the spirit dealers now thrown out of employ naturally regard an invasion of their trade. The better classes do not sympathise with them, there is no tax which is to the native mind so legitimate as the excise on spirits, and the method which brings consumption to a minimum, and revenue to a maximum, is in the view of the majority, the best. Nobody sympathises with the would-be sot in India; any difficulty he may meet in the attempt to indulge his vicious propensity is considered as voluntarily incurred and to be a laudable discouragement of intemperance. Now it appears that the Sudder Distillery system, if it be fully carried out and no half measures permitted, must be the best for lowering the consumption and raising the receipts. The Government has the monopoly of the trade and is only prevented from charging too high a price by the certainty that as men will drink spirits they will be driven to contraband stills and smuggling if the legitimate method of supply is beyond their means.

The whole question however is now confessedly on its trial and it would be premature to infer much from our present experience, we will therefore dismiss the subject with the concluding remark that the increased revenue from this source in the Lucknow district has been accompanied with decreased consumption of spirits. A fact from which those who look at the matter from a moral point of view may draw their own conclusions.

The constitution of the Military Police has been sketched above. This body has been much reduced in number and comprises now 1,554 cavalry and 7,996 infantry—or 9,550 men, and the cost of it now is barely the half of the sum which at first was appropriated to this head of expenditure. The organization and discipline remain unaltered from those first adopted, but the position of the force in reference to the place which it occupies in the executive machine has been materially modified. The Office of Commandant of Division has been abolished and the District Superintendent of Police has less independence of action than formerly, having been subordinated to the Deputy Commissioner, who cannot in fact be responsible for the state of his district unless he has the undivided control of all matters in it.

The inexperience of the Officers of the police, who were all men who had to learn their new duties, made it imperative that

they should receive as far as possible the guidance and advice which the Magisterial authorities could so well have given. But it has been found that the divided systems interposed impassable barriers to this being done, and the only means of rendering the police effective as a detective force has been to place the Officers completely under the control of the District authority. It is to be regretted perhaps that the previous independence which was accorded to the Police Officers has been found in some instances to have unfitted them for co-operation in a subordinate position, but the superior experience of the Magistrate ought in fairness in all instances to be acknowledged by the other party, and time alone is wanted to bring both into harmonious working ; means have also been devised for giving police officers a knowledge of criminal business, for it has been found almost impossible for an officer who has not served in a Magistrate's court to appreciate the true value of evidence and successfully to conduct a prosecution.

But the praise which is justly due to the Oudh Police as a protective body needs acknowledgment. Their discipline has well fitted them for the work of overawing the discontented remnants of the rebels who would assuredly have taken advantage of a weak police, to form gangs of armed robbers, and, under the form of dacoits, to keep alive a reign of terror and disturbance. No one acquainted with the Police of the old regime would suppose that the security to property and life which has lately reigned undisturbed in the cities and villages of Oudh would have been attained by anything like the force formerly at the disposal of the old Thannahdars. They were indeed blots in our Executive which rather invited assault, than repressed violence. With means of resistance only equal to those possessed by the villagers themselves, they could at any moment be outnumbered by the coalition of two or more robber gangs, and the shelter of their semi-fortified post seldom gave them courage to hold out beyond the first opportunity of flight which offered itself. A stealthy evacuation of his post on the night succeeding the threat of an assault, and a devious flight in disguise to the head quarters of the district there to relate, with no small disregard to facts, the prodigies of his own valour and the overpowering forces of the enemy, were ordinarily the limits of devotion in the cause of Government, which a good native policeman allowed himself.

But the native of Hindostan, bold enough to venture when the odds in his own reckoning are sufficiently overpowering to present no chance of failure, is not an enterprising creature. A considerable inducement in the way of certainty of success

is required to move him to action, and his superabundant caution is ever on the alert to any symptom which forebodes the possibility of a favorable result to his foe. The mere establishment therefore of the Military Police has been sufficient to quell the martial ardour of the 'mauvais sujet' in Oudh. He sees a force which he supposes invincible, and he at once resigns the idea of entering into any thing of which he has such a rooted horror as an encounter on fair terms and of doubtful issue. It must have struck many of our readers how few of our opponents during the late Mutiny have died *fighting*. The Hindoostani is beaten morally. Once let the moral certainty of your superiority possess him, and he ceases to struggle. There is in him none of the animal vivacity which dictates resistance to the last, and only is extinguished by the blow which deprives him of life.

The question of taxation is one of such vast dimensions, and in its nature and scope of so universal Indian interest, that it will not become us here to do more than allude briefly to the experiment in direct taxation which has lately been made in Oudh under the orders of the Governor General.

The general object of increased revenue, to restore the finance of the empire to the equilibrium of income and expenditure which had been so nearly attained before the Mutiny and which that commotion so seriously deranged, was the object of the movement. The principle and detail of the tax were left by the Governor General to the local Government, the only restriction being that the holders of land were not to be subject to the imposts.

A move in the direction indicated, had already been made in the Punjaub, when the authority for the execution of the project was given to Oudh, and the form there assumed by the demand for revenue was the imposition of octroi rates at a higher percentage than formerly. In this there is obviously no new principle; and the arrangement was well calculated to secure its object in so far as it stirred no prejudices and introduced no novelties to alarm the native mind. But the incidence of this tax is general, and can only be heightened in its pressure within very moderate limits. An import duty on articles of food or clothing can only be raised to that point which places no bar to the enjoyment of them by the poorest of the mass of society. Necessary articles cannot be taxed beyond the minimum incomes, and those are soon reached. The moment that point is passed, distress is felt by the lowest grades, and the tax is an oppression. Nor indeed is an octroi tax in any way graduated to the abilities of rich and poor. Each wants food and clothing; and the small reduction which the rich man might make to economise

under the pressure of increased rates on these articles, might represent the half of the poor man's food and the whole of his scanty wardrobe; moreover when widely introduced it has a tendency to degenerate into a transit duty.

It is thus clear that, on the whole, the object of making the wealthier classes, the well to do shopkeepers and private gentlemen, contribute a sum proportionate to their means, is wholly unattainable by a system of octroi imposts.

The Chief Commissioner of Oudh saw the position (octroi duties were little known in Oudh) and wisely preferred to attempt the hitherto untried experiment of a direct tax on the profits of all classes, those profits derived from land being, of course, excepted. The obvious difficulty in such a tax is the inaccurate knowledge of the real profits of any individual trader, &c. The first step taken was to get as accurate a return as possible of the population subject to the tax without making the enquiry into men's gains vexatious. But the assessment was not the result of a guess by the district officer. A sound method pervaded the proceedings. Lists were first prepared in which the names of all traders and men of business, other than agriculture, were entered, and in the same lists appeared the estimated amount of profits of such persons. The Tehseeldars and other subordinate officers entrusted with the preparation of these lists were enjoined to abstain from personal enquiries, and to be guided chiefly by current rumour and presumption. The assistance of all men of experience and influence was largely used in this process, and thus, often indeed without any recourse to the individual himself, a fair general estimate of the amount of his returns during the year was made. Headmen of villages, Putwaries, or village accountants, Zemindars who were themselves exempted from the impost, gave the fullest information on these points and with great fairness and judgment. In large estates, the whole process was almost wholly undertaken and carried out by the Talookdar and his agents. But no tax-payer was thus even ultimately rated as a matter of course. The district officers were told not to look on these returns as the basis of their calculations when from their own knowledge or the representations of any individual tax-payer they had reason to distrust their accuracy. In every case they have full discretion to raise or lower the assessment. Having then thus got a clue to the amount of profits a calculation of 3 per cent. on them gave a lump sum which was to be raised on the district. The quota of each payer were to be arranged among themselves. In towns a jury of the traders and in rural districts the Zemindars and Talookdars generally undertook this part of the work, and

in very rare instances did they find their task hard. The Collectors of the money were remunerated by being allowed to collect two pice over and above every rupee of the tax. The success which has attended the experiment, in all the agricultural districts especially, can only be ascribed to this plan of availing ourselves of the aid of the landlords—by whose influence, if in antagonism, we should have had many difficulties created and a strong feeling of discontent originated and fomented.

The wisdom of the policy of enlisting the influential grades of the population on our side never received a more striking illustration than in this tax. The only places where any difficulties have occurred in assessment and reclamations against the awards of the native juries have been frequent, have been towns where there is no supreme influence to act on the mass of traders. No doubt too, the ordinary difficulties incident to the work of taxation were increased in the large towns, but in no place has there been a single sign of any combination against the payment of the demand. The principle of self-distribution was admirably successful in the rural districts, and if not so satisfactory in the towns it is impossible to say whether any other plan could have been adopted which would certainly have been satisfactory, if indeed any other had been even practicable.

As a consequence of the imposition of this tax, the choongee or octroi duties which had been begun to be levied generally in all marts and important centres of trade, were at once abolished, wherever there did not exist a need for a special establishment of police for purely local purposes. This need exists in very few of the towns in Oudh, so that the octroi impost may be said to have been abolished in Oudh with the exception of Lucknow where it is enforced for the purpose of defraying the various expenses incident to a large and populous town, in which all the usual necessities of roads, public buildings and conservancy have been aggravated by the late destructive operations of war.

Before we quit the subject of taxation we feel bound to allude to the recent Libel case tried at Lucknow, which in the eye of the public, before which the case was somewhat tediously paraded, became identified with the proceedings under which the Trade tax was collected in Oudh. The notoriety with which the Indian Press readily stamped a suit in which one of their confreres played its unprofitable part, relieves us from the necessity of giving our readers any detailed information on the case of *Ramdial versus the Oudh Gazette*.

Holding as we do individually the opinion that an officer of Government is solely responsible primarily to his immediate

superior and, ultimately, to the Supreme Government of India for all his official acts, we consider the conduct of the Plaintiff in this case in indicting for Libel a newspaper which maliciously misrepresented his official acts, as a breach of discipline; and a precedent which, if extensively followed, would lower the position which Government must assume in India if it is to command respect, a legal despotism *in esse*, but an autocracy *in posse* unquestioned in its acts and admitting of no law but the *salus reipublicæ*.

But a native officer may be excused if he does not appreciate the feeling which would, we believe, have deterred any English Officer from noticing false aspersions on his character without distinct permission of his superiors to reply to them by legal or any other proceedings.

It is the destiny of the press in India to be in permanent opposition—it would die of inanition if it could not carp plausibly at every measure by exposing with vigilant acerbity the worse of the two sides which every human question must infallibly wear—it would want a credit sufficient to command a circulation if it lacked the ability to represent all rumoured accidents, mishaps and shortcomings as the long foreseen consequences of a perverse deafness to their own patriotic yet disinterested instructions. The propensity of human nature to be amused with virulence, the strong propensity of Anglo-Indian nature to subscribe to periodicals of all kinds, make the press in India, if conducted with a due reference to these its grand principles, and no deficiency in audacity, a self-supporting and in some instances a very profitable speculation.

We recollect hearing a story of an Indian Editor whose chequered personal adventures must have given him at least an intimate acquaintance with the criminal administration of India, who in answer to some remonstrances inculcating the theory that *some* regard to truth, impartiality, temperateness and sobriety would prove useful in the conduct of a journal, declined to discuss the point, as it was evident that his friend's estimate of qualifications for the Editorial chair differed in toto from his own humble opinion by which he would be tempted to rank the absence of any such weaknesses as those hinted at by his friend as more valuable than the most precious literary attainments for the due discharge of his peculiar office.*

The more masculine disposition of the English officer is inclined to look on the attacks of the press as the somewhat coward-

* This story is a fact, but we only tell it as a story and not with a view of creating any impression that this worthy is to be considered a type of the class of Indian Editors.

ly adopted what seemed least objectionable, it has looked to the devotion and skill of its officers to carry it through, and right certain we are that it will not look in vain.

Having now completed our rapid sketch of the most remarkable transactions which have lately taken place in Oudh, in the internal administration of the province, it remains only to advert to the incidents which attended the crushing out of the embers of rebellion which so long smouldered on the Nepal frontier. The refugees who composed the party of Birjees Kudur and the Begum his Mother, had, it will be remembered, made an unsuccessful attempt in the months of April and May 1859 to run through the trans-Gogra Districts, cross that river, and get once more into the jungles of Southern Oudh. Had this attempt succeeded, and had any leader of local distinction presented himself to the inhabitants of the Baiswara territory, there would have been, not perhaps a general relapse into rebellion, but an excitement and spirit of resistance would have been aroused, which would only have ceased with the extermination of the foe after a harassing and desultory campaign. But fortunately the Gogra proved an insurmountable obstacle to the intended evasion. Very few of the rebels ever reached its bank and those who did so only found themselves forced to turn back again. In two instances the larger bodies of those rebels were surprised and utterly routed with considerable slaughter, while numerous petty engagements occurred in which the weary and harassed remnants were cut up by the Native Cavalry, or fled without their arms into the hills which they had left. This miserable result of an enterprise which they had fondly anticipated as possible, prostrated their surviving hopes, and it is a matter of history, with which we will not weary our readers, how they succumbed, without a blow, to the Nepaulese forces sent to dislodge them from their hiding places.

The only further marks which they afford to trace their inglorious termination are found in the fate which befell their leaders, Mummoo Khan and Khan Bahadoor Khan. The latter was hanged at Bareilly, contumacious and rebellious to the last. The former by a scrupulous consideration of a plea, to which we ourselves can attach no weight, viz., that he acted under fear and pressure from the sepoy element in Lucknow, escaped the gallows and expiates his ambition as a life convict in the Andamans. Two Oudh Chiefs, the heads of the house of Dhourera and Mittowlie, have also reaped the reward of their baseness in surrendering to certain death English fugitives at the order of the de facto rebel Government. It is somewhat curious that the same Officer who sentenced these

criminals for surrendering Englishmen to death finds it impossible to convict the head of the Government who killed them, of murder.

We have now exhausted our subject and our space, and must conclude. We have endeavoured to set before our readers briefly the main principles which guide the present administration of Oudh. We do not fear that those who are best acquainted with the facts should accuse the Government of any unworthy truckling to class prejudices or a powerful aristocracy. The policy of allying the upper classes passively and actively with the executive is professedly that of an aristocratic complexion, and long may it continue so to be, if future years only shall continue to exhibit the present successful results.

The Government now possesses in a marked degree the good will of its subjects in Oudh, and this has been won by a ready acknowledgment of the station and rank of those who give the tone to the mass of the population. No undue concessions and indiscriminate conciliations have been practised, but the condition on which our favors have been granted has been that of prior unhesitating obedience on their part, not to the orders only, but the wishes of the Government. Instances have occurred where Talookdars have not understood this, and have shewn a spirit of recusancy and fractiousness to what they deemed a mild and perhaps weak Government. But they have met with a stern justice which has effectually cured themselves and opened the eyes of their neighbours to the fact that, willing as we are to meet our subjects half way in all questions of their personal rights and comforts, anxious as we are to see well conducted aristocracy take its proper position in the country, yet, no latitude is allowed in obedience to the orders of Government, and that they will best increase their own influence by promoting the objects which their rulers have at heart.

We do not hesitate to express our belief that the majority of the landholders in Oudh would eagerly seize any occasion which would enable them to exemplify their loyalty and good feeling towards us. The late circulation of Hindee letters which was pretty general in this province and the North West Provinces, though it is not considered to have borne any political significance but a precaution against the spread of cholera, was first brought to light by Maharaja Maun Sing, one of the most powerful of the Oudh Chiefs—and we do not look on this man, who is foremost in his devotion to the Government, as owing to it so entirely as others do the high position which he enjoys. His voluntary information is merely cited as an evidence of the existence of a feeling which is widely shared by the mem-

bers of his class, and we venture to predict that under a continuance of the present liberal policy, the feelings of good will and kindness which exist between the officers of Government and the people of Oudh will be surely and rapidly developed to the mutual advantage of both parties.—

We now take leave of our subject, and bid farewell to Oudh and to her Government. Circumstances have lately caused it to occupy a position in the eye of the public beyond the proportion of the interest which it can fairly claim from its area or political importance. When scarcely freed from the effects of the Mutiny of 1857, it was selected as the arena on which the most liberal policy which has yet emanated from the Government of India, was to be introduced.

The abolition of all former landmarks afforded peculiar facilities for inaugurating a new regime, which we suspect will ultimately extend far beyond the limits of the province itself. Naturally the experiment has attracted great interest, among all classes of society. In truth, it marks a most important period in the annals of India, and one pregnant with great results—whether for good or for evil time alone can show, but for ourselves we have no doubt of the issue.

Hitherto, the tendency of British rule in India, as in all other places, has been to level all distinctions of races, creeds and classes—to perfect the system, at the sacrifice of the individual. The result has been everywhere to give great weight to what in England are known as the middle classes. Under our free institutions the growth of such is a matter of course, and where this section of the body politic represents, as it does in England, a great amount of intelligence, a vast amount of industry, and an ineradicable love of fair play, law and order, the encouragement which gives weight to such a class can hardly be too freely given.

But, to venture a truism, Asia is *not* Europe. The want of education, and the absence of cohesion among the middle classes in India, the diversity of their interests, and their inherited instinct to follow rather than to lead, places them on a far lower level than the *masses* in England and America.

They are not yet of sufficient substance to form a party, and no Government can yet rule India, by attaching itself to the interests of those, who in the hour of trial have no one principle of action to guide them, and no steadiness of character on which their rulers can confidently rely for support. The true ally of the British Government in India is, not the independent, or quasi-independent prince, or the representatives of the old dynasties, nor is it those lower classes of society

whose welfare and comfort our policy has so eagerly sought and secured; but it is the hereditary class of nobility, the aristocracies of birth and land. These form the class which it is the interest of England to encourage, that she may in her turn look to them for support and assistance. Such men represent real, strong, well-defined and tangible interests—they have a stake to lose, and a status to maintain—and a sound healthy appreciation of their position, while it gives them a clear and determinate principle of action, renders them a reliable support against such convulsions as have lately shaken British rule in India to the very centre. It is idle to speak of patriotism and loyalty in a country which has never known either. Despotism, the only mastership which an Asiatic recognises, promotes the growth of neither, and depends on neither for its stability.

We are indisputably supreme in India, we fear no outward rival there, all our dangers must ever be from the people of the soil itself. Our empire stands assured to us from day to day by the presence and support of a large British army; but England feels the drain. With the enormous calls upon her strength in every quarter of the globe she cannot give but a portion of her strength to her Eastern Empire. To hold that with the least strain on her population and her finances, is the problem of Indian Government; and to solve that, it should be the object of our rulers to ally themselves with that class of the community which can best ease our burden and best give the assistance we want. We have absorbed rivals; we must seek for the required support from our own subjects, and we believe that in the hour of need this will be best found in the ranks of a judiciously fostered and liberally governed native Indian aristocracy.

ART. VI.—*A Collection of 510 Pamphlets on the East Indies and China, in 95 Volumes.*

It is 10 years since we wrote the article, "Calcutta in the Olden Time—its *Localities*," in which we endeavoured to take up what was interesting connected with sites in Calcutta, the *genius loci*. We now resume the second part, "Calcutta in the Olden Time—its *People*," which will refer in a *cursory* way to the various classes of inhabitants last century, their social state, dress, food, recreations, manners, and diseases.

Late years have witnessed the annihilation of that mighty East India Company, "the Empire of the middle classes," which so long ruled with absolute sway over the East, and whose name was every thing in Calcutta last century, which survived all the shocks to trade under which the Dutch, French and German East India Companies sank. It is a question whether it has yet been succeeded by a better form of Government, one that will guard Indian interests and finances so faithfully and which will not allow the rights of natives to be sacrificed, in order to swell the coffers of Mammon. The Company invariably resisted, as far as they could, the spirit of political and military aggression, they might have been reformed, but destruction was not the remedy: and now we fear in spite of themselves and their better principles, the Queen's Government is imperceptibly drifting into a policy like that of Austria in Italy, whose main points were unity, and centralization to the sacrifice of local Government, a foreign agency to administer as conquerors, and an entirely foreign army to back their views out. We know the result now in Italy, in spite of Austrian cannons and soldiers,—nationalities will have their sway and so it will be in India.

The East India Company won India, the problem is will the Queen's Government keep it. Without the Company's influence at one time it could not have been secured, as Cromwell found when in 1654 he abolished the Company, but discerned that the Dutch made such way in India and Ceylon that he was obliged to restore the Charter. The following lines were often quoted in old books in reply to people who argued that the best remedy for Indian evils was to transfer the Government to the Crown—

I was well,
I would be better,
I took physie
And here I lie.

The remedy was worse than the disease and the victim of empiricism died.

St. Petersburg was founded by Peter the Great at the same time that Calcutta was by Job Charnock, both were erected in swamps, amid an unhealthy climate, both became the capitals of mighty empires. How little could either of the founders have anticipated that by the year 1860 both the Anglo-Indian and Russian Empires would nearly meet in Asia, separated only by a few hundred miles and that Kossacs would have done for one what Sepoys have effected for the other.

We want in this antiquarian article to avoid all reference as much as possible to questions of the day, which now unhappily divide Europeans from natives. Looking at the past we have great reason to thank God and take courage. The Europeans have greatly improved in morals and socially, the natives also have better houses and are higher in the social scale: the millionaires of Calcutta among the natives are men who have realised their property by trading, like Mutty Loll Sil who rose from being a seller of bottles at 8 rupees monthly to be the Rothschild of Calcutta; last century had such men as *Kanta Baboo*, Hastings' Dewan, who made such enormous sums by bribes. In contrasting Calcutta now with the Calcutta of last century we must take into account the progress of things every where; when we find so low a state of things among the Europeans in Calcutta last century, should we have found them much higher in London. Talk of Barwell's and Francis' profligacy, what was it to the Court of George the Fourth or that of Versailles; debasing pleasures were common to England and Calcutta—each had its Ranelagh.

The reader of this article will, we trust, see in comparing the present with the past, that in various points we have improved, not merely the *nous changeons tout cela*: the hand of God ought to be seen in social changes as well as in his Revelation or his Book of Nature; our own spirits have been often cheered when discouraged by existing evils, in reviewing the past.

One of the difficulties of dealing with Old Calcutta is the danger of taking single instances as examples instead of exceptions. Thus any one having known Calcutta would have been surprised at the statement of Sir J. Royd to the Grand Jury of Calcutta in 1812 that "not a single instance of depredation on private property has occurred during the last six months of magnitude sufficient to be brought before you and this Court." As exculpatory on one side as Sir M. Wells on a recent occasion was condemnatory on the other.

We profess to give only a very brief sketch here of Old Calcutta, to enter into the subject fully would fill the whole of this *Review*. We shall as far as possible avoid repeating things which are generally known, or drawing from the ordinary books

which treat of India. Our materials are derived from reminiscences of conversation with the late Mrs. Ellerton, who saw Warren Hastings carried away bloody from his duel with Francis; of Mr. Herkloz, who was fiscal of Chinsurah in Dutch times, of Mr. Blaquiere, &c. &c., and from books of which copies now in India are rare, such as Hartley House, the East India Chronicles, Sketches Ecclesiastical and Civil of Calcutta, and Stavorinus's Dellon's Voyages, Williamson's Vade Mecum, Kinderley's and Fay's Letters, and above all a collection of 510 Pamphlets on the East Indies and China filling 95 volumes. These are invaluable and contain many statements of great importance relating to Calcutta last century. Old Libraries are few, one of the best of them was the late *Hurkaru* one, but at an auction of books this year rare old volumes were sold for a few annas to sirkars, and thus a valuable collection has been scattered; it contained some of the Calcutta newspapers of last century which are not now to be had.

Calcutta is a regular *colluvies gentium*—the Jew that excels the Bengali in cheating—the Armenian with his semi-Asiatic habits—the rich Mogul—the Marwari merchant—the black Portuguese—the muddy-looking East Indian—have all made it their residence, but our object in this article is chiefly to give a glance at the English in their social life. Many estimates have been made at different times of the actual population of Calcutta. We give the following for 1850 as a standard, and with exception of the Europeans who have increased, it might stand as an average for last century; this must be borne in mind that 100,000 Hindoos daily enter and depart from Calcutta.

	Male.	Female.	Total.	
Europeans,	4,848	2,686	7,534	} = 4,15,063
Eurasians,	2,472	2,188	4,660	
Armenians,	499	393	892	
Chinese,	699	148	847	
Hindus,	1,65,817	1,08,689	2,74,506	
Mahommedans,	72,476	38,694	1,11,170	
Other Asiatics,	8,225	7,229	15,454	

The names of residents in old Calcutta will be known best by consulting the monumental inscriptions, for comparatively few then returned to their own land to ease and competence—death intervened, and the shattered, mouldering monuments in Chowringhee great burial ground, “city of the dead,” are the only memorials left of them. Let us make a pilgrimage to the tombs there, the well known Indian names of *Becher*, *Barwell*, *Reed*, *Sykes*, *Law*, *Jackson*, *Hayes*, are to be met with. *Sir William Jones* lies buried in it, of whom it is recorded on his tomb;—Here lies “The

‘mortal part of a man, who feared God, but not death, and maintained independence, but sought not riches: who thought none below him but the base and unjust; none above him but the wise and virtuous:’—a statement new to the Calcutta people of his day though, if we are to believe those marbles, “the inhabitants of ancient Calcutta were a race of virtuous, industrious, and honourable men; of pious and beautiful women, who enlivened society in general, and afforded every domestic and social comfort to husbands far distant from the house of early consanguinity and the joys of England.” The oldest monument is of *Job Charnock*, who in 1692 “*Mortalitatis suæ exuvias deposuit reversus est domum suæ æternitatis* ;” then of his daughter, “*Qui per elapsa tot annorum millia culpam Primævæ luit Parentis, et luet usque dum æternum stabit.*” “*In dolore paries filios,*”—here lies *Captain Poyning*, who most bravely defended the *Resolution* Indiaman against thirty sail of the *Mahrattah* fleet.” Those were days when Indiamen mounted 20 guns, the crew and the passengers were all trained to arms. *Cleveland* who “accomplished by a system of conciliation what could never be effected by Military coercion.”—*Oldham* who died in 1788 was an undertaker who erected several monuments in the different burial grounds in Calcutta, and particularly in the ground where he himself lies interred, “he was the first undertaker who settled in Bengal; Tomb-stones before his time came as bespoke from Madras, he first cut stones from the ruins of Gour.” There is an inscription over the wife of an Attorney *Jones*.

“Though low in earth your virtuous form decayed,
My faithful wife my loved Nancy’s laid,
In chastity you kept a husband’s heart,
To all but him as cold as now thou art.”

Justice Hyde was one of the Puisne Judges of the Supreme Court in which he spent 21 years, longer than those Judges ordinarily stay now.—*Colonel Kyd* distinguished for his botanic researches and *William Chambers* Prothonotary of the Supreme Court noted for his Persian studies and Biblical translation. In the *Mission Burial Ground* the oldest tomb is of 1773; in the *New Burial Ground* of 1793; in *Tiretta’s Burial Ground* 1796; the *Hospital Burial Ground* “on the banks of the Gungah” 1786; the *Church of the Virgin* 1712; the inscriptions Latin, Portuguese, and English; *Bytakannah* 1787; *Greek* 1777; inscriptions in Greek; *Orphan Ground, Howrah* 1791. Out of Calcutta the oldest Tombs are *Dum-Dum* 1790; *Barrackpore* 1783; *Serampore* 1745; *Chandernagore* 1729, viz. that of Monsieur

Blanchatiere, Director of the French East India Company ; *Chinsurah* 1743 ; *Bandel* 1756.

We know not when Calcutta* first got the title "City of Palaces," though last century it was a misnomer in a place having no glass to its houses and few verandahs to shade off the heat ; in whose streets dead animals were to be seen putrifying, and sometimes even human beings. Defective as are still the municipal arrangements of Calcutta, it is a great improvement on last century, when drains three feet deep were reservoirs of filth, sending out annually their three hundred and sixty stench ; the receptacle of rotting animals ; even human corpses have been known to be two days in the streets, before being taken away by the police, and thrown into the canals. In some cases they were left for the jackals to make a two days' meal of them.

The following verses, taken from Atkinson's Poem, the City of Palaces, well describe its then state :—

Calcutta ! what was thy condition then ?
An anxious, forced existence, and thy site
Embowering jungle, and noxious fen,
Fatal to many a bold aspiring wight :
On every side tall trees shut out the sight ;
And like the Upas, noisome vapours shed ;
Day blazed with heat intense, and murky night
Brought damps excessive, and a feverish bed ;
The revellers at eve were in the morning dead.

"Worse than Batavia, thou wert then, a tomb ;
What art thou now, amidst thy various brood ?
Though unincumbered by a forest's gloom,
Thou robbest beauty of its eloquent blood,
Youth of its lustre, and the opening bud
Of infancy is blasted in thy view,
Fell as the Vampire in its thirstiest mood :
All ranks alike thy direful influence rue :
Thou bane of lovely looks and health's inspiring hue."

No wonder that the Europeans, gradually migrated from the Belgravia of that day—Tank Square,—and took up their abodes in Chowringhee "out of town." The common soubriquet was "the settlement," and its inhabitants called themselves, "the

* The native name of Calcutta (Kalikatta), we believe, was given it from Kalighat, but the English metamorphose native names sadly thus—*Mannakali* point is called *melancholy* point.—Suraje Daula was called *Sir Roger* Daula : they called all natives *Gentoos*, according to Voltaire a contraction of *gentiles*.—*Kedjeri pots* were so called from *Kedjeri* where crockery was abundantly supplied to the shipping—A native went by the name in 1780 of *Sam Chakrabarti* ! Where is this to end ? We have Dover Village and Shrimp Channel marked on the old maps as South of Calcutta—where are these ? How much better to keep to permanent native names.

exiles,"—though never did exiles live in such luxury, and in so many cases forget home and all its associations.

Viewing the rapid succession of residents and the "voice from the tomb" we need not be surprised at Europeans being deterred from coming to Calcutta last century—at its being regarded as a land of exile and death. Gladwin gives the following view as entertained even by the Mussulmans of Bengal. "In former reigns the climate of Bengal on account of the badness of the air and of the water, was deemed inimical to the constitution of Moguls and other foreigners; and only those officers who laboured under the royal displeasure were stationed there, so that this fertile soil, which enjoys a perpetual spring, was considered as a gloomy prison, the land of spectres, the seat of disease, and the mansion of death. The ministers of state and the Dewans appropriated the greatest part of these valuable lands to *tankahs* for the *jageers* of the *munsibdars*, so that the amount collected in the *Khalsa* was so inconsiderable, as to be inadequate to the demands of the *Nizamut* troops; which deficiency was supplied from the treasury of Delhi and by tankhas on other *Soobahs*." But we find in 1757 the soubriquet of "the terrestrial paradise" was applied to it, this certainly could not be stated of it by Europeans,—but they had chiefly to blame themselves;—with tables groaning under the weight of heavy joints of meat, washed down with Arrack-punch, it is not surprising to find that one-third of the cases in hospital arose from liver complaint. We do not quite understand what is meant by "the hot winds of Calcutta," a fertile source of disease so often referred to by old writers thus. "When the hot winds are abroad the angel of death is busy in all quarters; and though numbers survive, the devastations are awful. Then is existence only supportable in the morning and evening; and the whole European people droop the head and dissolution solely occupies their thoughts." In reading old accounts of heat in Calcutta, such as that it was usual to throw water on the wheels of carriages an hour before going out, also to pour water on stones for coolness, we must remember the heat was not greater then than now, but persons had no means of alleviating it, excepting changing their linen, as the Judges of the Supreme Court did three or four times a day during Omichand's trial; it was doubtless the air that blew hot when the houses were all opened, no punkahs, no tatties, to escape from the horror of which our predecessors rented houses at the so-called healthy villages of Baraset and Chinsurah, where, seated behind the felted canvas, which in early times served the purpose of *cuscus tatties*, they

refreshed themselves with gallons of *Arrackpunch* and country beer, to keep off the effects of the climate, and remedy the debilitating influence of copious perspiration.

Ives gives the statistics of the Calcutta hospital from the ships in 1757 between February 8th and August 8th of that year, 1140 patients were received, of those 54 were for scurvies, 302 bilious fevers, and 56 bilious cholics; 52 men buried. Between August 7th and November 7th, 717 fresh patients were taken in, of those 147 were in putrid fevers, and 155 in putrid fluxes, 101 were buried. No wonder for in the same year Dr. Bogue remarks of the fevers in Calcutta,—“*bleeding* was commonly used in fever cases.”* The rains were the deadly time in Calcutta, and particularly for new arrivals. Ship’s crews in the river then used to lose one-fourth of their crews, or 300 men, chiefly owing however to their exposure to night fogs, and to the punch houses, though the stoppages at Diamond Harbour, laid the foundation of the disease of the majority; scurvy was almost universal, there were no Agri-Horticultural Societies in those days to supply vegetable seeds.

For improving the *sanitary condition* of Calcutta, the Lottery Committee did much. We find that as early as 1794 there were Lottery Commissioners: in that year they advertised for benevolent and charitable purposes a lottery of 10,000 tickets at 32 Rupees each, and some of our best streets are owing to their funds. The English knew nothing of sanitarium last century, Baraset, Chittagong and St. Thomé at Madras, were the places for change of air. W. Hastings, Sir R. Chambers and others used to go to Bircul near Hijli for sea-bathing; the remains of their Bungalows are still to be seen there; Sukhsagur was another retreat.

Much of the disease in Calcutta and in other parts of India has been owing to the English not conforming their mode of living, dress, &c. to the climate. The Anglo-Saxon in every part of the world has wished to carry his home system on with him, he is the *Topi-wala* in Calcutta as in London; he is like the Dutch at Batavia, who in the swamps made canals or fetid

* This is an important point in connection with the amalgamation of the armies; all the old medical writers on Calcutta state that *new* comers are most liable to the diseases of the country. Dr. Lind in his celebrated work on tropical diseases published in 1776 affirms, that “by length of time the constitution of Europeans becomes seasoned to the East and West India climates, if it is not injured by repeated attacks of sickness on the first arrival.” Still the fact remains the Europeans can not bring up a healthy offspring in the plains of India. An old soldier 44 years in India told us that he considered one soldier seasoned after three years was equal to two recruits.

ditches run through their capital because Amsterdam had them, —the results were pestilential fever, hence the canals have slain more Dutch in Java than the swords of the natives. We find Calcutta people warned in 1780; “from the many sudden deaths ‘which have happened lately, gentlemen should be cautious not ‘to eat too freely during the continuance of the heat (June;) the ‘Surgeon of an Indiaman expired in the street after eating ‘a hearty dinner of beef, the thermometer was at 98.”

But last century tropical countries were generally unhealthy. Jamaica formerly buried to the amount of the whole number of its white inhabitants *once in five years*; Batavia lost one-fifth of its Dutch population annually, the Portuguese lost all their European Missionaries in Guinea, and found it necessary to raise up a class of black priests; one-third of the Europeans died annually in the African factories.

No wonder fever was prevalent in Calcutta. People slept on the ground floor; few houses had upper stories, though the first floor was raised and was approached by a flight of steps. There was a disease common to the lower classes of Europeans called the *Barbers*, a species of palsy, owing to the exposure to the land winds after a fit of intoxication. Abscesses of the liver were very fatal—one of the charges advanced against Comte Lally was, “of causing himself to be treated as if he had an abscess of the liver, before an abscess was formed, which, had ‘it ever happened, would have caused his death” though this is absurd—it shows the view entertained then of abscess.

Dr. Lind writes of the fevers of the middle of last century in Calcutta. “The distempers are fevers of the remitting or intermitting kind; sometimes they may begin under a continued form, and remain several days without any perceptible remission, ‘but they have in general a great tendency to a remission. ‘They are commonly accompanied with violent fits of rigors or ‘shiverings, and *with discharges of bile upwards and downwards*. ‘If the season be very sickly, some are seized with a malignant ‘fever, of which they soon die; the body is covered with blotches ‘of a livid colour, and the corpse in a few hours turns quite ‘black and corrupted. At this time fluxes prevail. Which may ‘be called bilious or putrid, the better to distinguish them ‘from others which are accompanied with an inflammation of ‘the bowels. In all those diseases at Bengal, the *lancet* is cautiously to be used. It is a common observation, both at Bengal ‘and Bencoolen, that the moon or tides have a remarkable influence there on intermitting fevers. I have been informed by ‘a gentleman of undoubted veracity, and of great knowledge in ‘medicine, that in fevers at Bengal, he could foretell their precise

‘time when the patient would expire, it being generally about the hour of low water. Thus much is certain, that in the year 1762, after a great sickness of which it was computed 30,000 blacks and 800 Europeans died in the province of Bengal, upon an eclipse of the moon, the English merchants and others, who had left off taking the bark, suffered a relapse. The return of this fever was so general on the day of the eclipse, that there was not the least reason to doubt of the effect.”

Respecting the mortality of Europeans in Calcutta, it is difficult to get accurate statistics, Hamilton states that in 1700, there were about 1200 English in Calcutta, but in the following January 460 were buried, higher than any year up to 1800, excepting 1760 when 305 died; the last century gives an average of 164 annually—but we doubt its correctness.*

Dr. Strong has made elaborate tables in which he calculates the mortality among natives in Calcutta 1831-40 at four and three-fifths per cent. annually:—

The *adventurers* (a term applied in the days of the Company's commercial monopoly to every man who came out not in the service of the Company; India was designed to be a pet preserve of the civil service) cannot be omitted from the sketch

*“Respecting that disease which has proved such an awful scourge in Calcutta—*Cholera*, it is a commonly received opinion, that it broke out first in the Marquis of Hastings' Army, and made its appearance in the Nuddea District in 1813, but by a reference to old writers we find, that if not known as an *Epidemic* something very similar prevailed in Calcutta, but as an *Endemic*. Lind mentions “that in the great sickness of 1762 in which 30,000 blacks and 800 Europeans died in the province of Bengal, it was marked that a “constant vomiting of a white, tough, pellucid phlegm accompanied with a continual diarrhœa, was deemed the most mortal symptom.” Cholera was called *Morte de Chien*, “very frequent, and fatal;” and the treatment was emetics opiate, hartshorn, and water, it took the patient off in a few hours. Monsieur Dellon in 1698 writes of a disease called, the Indian Mordechi, which kills people in a few hours' time, accompanied with vomiting and looseness. The remedies reckoned effectual, are applying a red hot iron to the feet across the ancles, and taking kanji water with pepper. When Cholera as an *Epidemic* first broke out in the Marquis of Hastings' grand army natives were first attacked, in the case of Europeans it was accompanied by spasms, caused intense thirst, but the Doctors did not allow a drop of water; though some men that got water by stealth rapidly recovered. Besides brandy and laudanum, one of the remedies was placing the patient in a hot bath, and bleeding him while there in the arms—provided blood flowed. The doctors considered the disease was in the air, and it was at first thought to be contagious; the camp followers were cut off so rapidly that the Marquis of Hastings was obliged to pitch a standing camp near Gwalior.”

of Old Calcutta,—they were few and despised.* The “*Eonats*” a poem in ridicule of “free trade and empty speculation;” published in 1813, gives a frontispiece in the style of Punch; close in the background, is the India House to be let, one man holds a scroll on which is written “since the loss of the slave trade our ‘*Liver*’ has become a ‘*Pool*’ of grief to us dissolved in woe—more—over our port (Liverpool) stands so snug for smuggling that the ‘free trade need not go North about for that purpose.” Another “Cork jackets for Indian Divers, salted Pork for Fakirs,” then a Scotchman “your petitioners request that leaving to the ‘Company the Hull, you would give us the kernel of the East Indian Commerce” then to barter “for converting Scotch pearls ‘into orientals, snow boots, fire screens, warming pans, invisible petticoats, tragedies for warm weather:” then the ship “*Venus* receiving her cargo of ‘white and willing nuns’ for the ‘consumption of the East Indies, which from the intended ‘schemes of speculation, will naturally become ‘Bankrupt in ‘Morals as in Trade.’”† The writer, to show how little demand there is for the interloper to trade in Calcutta, states that if a labouring man, wife and two children, can live on 2½ rupees monthly, what an overplus he must have to expend on articles of foreign luxury—he overlooked Young Bengal.

Any one found without a license 10 miles from the Presidency

* The following extracts from the pamphlet show the feeling. Thus it describes the importations to India:—

Pale faded sluffs, by time grown faint
Will brighten up through art;
As British gives their faces paint
For sale at India’s mart.

* * *

Another in his bark receives
Coffins for undertakers;
For Bramins, Cassocks and lawn sleeves
And feather beds for Fakirs;

* * *

This packs up ice in earthen jars,
And happily creates,
For Sheffield manufacturers,
A large demand for skaits.

* * *

And lo! to mend the sunburnt breed
Of Asia’s tawny sons,
What a vast freightage is decreed
Of white and willing nuns.

† Yet in 1623 the king of Japan styled Sir T. Smith and others in “the honorable and worshipful *adventurers* to the East Indies.”

was liable to be marched under a guard on board ship and sent back to England forthwith.

While the settlement of *European capitalists* having a good moral character, and willing to treat the natives kindly and justly, would be a great boon in the Mofussil, the indiscriminate admission of Europeans was always considered bad; the East India Company have never had justice done to their views with regard to interlopers in this point; one of the best exposés of them however was given in a speech of the Right Honorable H. Dundas made in the House of Commons in 1793, and which called forth the decided approbation of Pitt. He states on this point. "An indiscriminate and unrestrained colonization would destroy that respect or rather eradicate that feeling which is general among the natives, of the superiority of the European character. It is a fact, that upon this feeling of the superiority of the Europeans the preservation of our empire depends, and it is owing to the limited number of them, and to their being the covenanted servants of the Company, or licensed inhabitants, that the idea of the superiority is so general, or that it effectual as a means of administering the government of our provinces. I cannot illustrate these observations better, than referring to the correspondence between Meer Cossim and Mr. Vansittart; the Nabob complained to this governor, that the natives were oppressed and harassed by numbers of *vagrant Europeans*; thinking, perhaps, that the Nabob was alarmed without reason Mr. Vansittart replied, that these Europeans were too contemptible to deserve notice. 'They may be contemptible' answered the Nabob, 'in your opinion, but the dog of an European is of consequence among the timid natives of this country.' If then, the superiority of the European character must be maintained in India, it is impossible for us to think of authorising an unrestrained emigration."

Griffs, though so abundant of late in India and particularly old *Griffs*, were not unknown formerly. Captain Williamson states regarding them in 1800. "Nothing can be 'more preposterous than the significant sneers of gentlemen on 'their first arrival in India; meaning thereby, to ridicule or despise what they consider effeminacy or luxury. Thus, several 'may be seen annually walking about without chattahs (i. e. umbrellas,) during the greatest heats, they affect to be ashamed of 'requiring aid, and endeavor to uphold by such a display of indifference, the great reliance placed on strength of constitution. 'This unhappy infatuation rarely exceeds a few days, at the end 'of that time, sometimes only of a week (nay, I have known the

‘period to be much shorter,) we too often are called upon to attend the funeral of the self-deluded victim. The first attack is generally announced by cold shiverings and bilious vomiting, delirium speedily ensues, when putrefaction advances with such hasty strides, as often to render interment necessary so soon as ‘can possibly be affected.” The Colonel of a King’s Regiment was considered the beau ideal of an old Griff. An anecdote is detailed of one who sent to the office of the Commander-in-Chief to request that a “cool station” might be selected for his corps; and of the commandant of a brigade who hearing continually of the allowance for doolees (palanquins), enquired what sort of “animals” they were since they seemed to eat so much.*

An old writer of 1808 thus describes a griff officer of the Royal Army on his arrival in India.

“On his arrival in India, it is, somehow or other, a natural bias which prompts him, (and I may say every European, King’s or Company’s) to feel a sensation of repugnance, nay, little short of abhorrence, to the natives in general. Whether this has been born with us, or is the effect of education I know not; but I can appeal to the truth of it, to the breast of any person who has been into India, everything a native does is executed exactly contrary to European ideas; and these people are so addicted to telling the most barefaced lies, that a stranger falling into the hands of the most villainous part of them (the Madras dubashes) on his first arrival, is naturally confirmed in the abhorrence he has felt for them at first sight. I have seen many sensible persons who could not conquer their aversion, for a length of time, so far as even to touch the skin of a native “Blackey,”; ‘black fellows,’ and ‘black scoundrels,’ are the opprobrious terms generally used in speaking of them, amongst every class of Europeans.”

The King’s troops were all noted for their griffinage—the following anecdote is recorded of one at the period of the Vellore Massacre:—“The arrogance of a reply to a Lieutenant Colonel, of 25 ‘years’ standing, who commanded a corps of sepoy, and asked a King’s Colonel (commanding the station) leave for his ‘sepoy to attend an annual Hindoo festival; urging, when this was denied, that it had been an invariable custom to grant the leave, for 25 years he had been in the service.—“Then,” replied the commandant (who was not three years old when the Lieutenant Colonel entered the Army) “I, Theodosius, Pam-

* Not as bad as Lord Hardinge’s ordering Chaprassies to be cooked for breakfast—he meant chappatees.

‘padore Mount Razor, Colonel, commanding the * * * * *

‘do now abolish, and put a stop to the said custom, in its 26th, ‘year !” turning upon his heel on finishing the sentence.” This griffinage was near costing the loss of India, as the Vellore Mutiny was mainly caused by king’s officers interfering ignorantly with the prejudices of the sepoys, requiring them to wear a peculiar kind of turban like a hat and to shave their whiskers: the principal conspirator going to execution declared as his last words that “he would rather suffer death than wear the hat”—yet people in England in that day pooh-poohed it saying “What is the matter—Is it a turban or a whisker?” A young Griff in the hands of native servants was always an object of the deepest pity, about 1810 he is graphically described thus. “His clothes disappear first—his money goes next, he ‘knows neither the coins of the country, nor their value—for the ‘worth of two pounds he is lucky if he obtains one—and so on. ‘Without a soul on whose recommendation for servants he can rely, ‘he beholds himself the prey of sharpers of whose villainy he is well ‘aware, though utterly at a loss how to supply their place with ‘others in whose fidelity he has confidence. Those servants who ‘ply at ghauts, or landing places, are usually of the very worst description; and it is truly to be lamented, that these men by ‘speaking English, become so useful to the stranger, unacquainted ‘with a single word of Hindoostanee, that all confidence is vested ‘in them, of which, as may be supposed, they fail not to take ‘every advantage.”

In direct opposition to the Griff was the *Old Indian* of whom so much has been written; here are the descriptions of one of last century. “Having lost all affections for, and all remembrance of the ‘land of their nativity, they settle down to some engrossing employment, and vegetate in dulness and obscurity, perfectly satisfied with the gratification which a regular supply of European eatables and drinkables can afford, never desiring to change their ‘situation, or to enter into a larger or higher sphere. A vast number of strange notions may be acquired by those, who, confined ‘to a narrow circle, contract their minds within the same boundary, and are as little fitted to mix with the world as if their faculties were benumbed by the wand of the enchanter.” Or again “Amorous in the extreme, possessed of nice sensibility increased ‘by the climate and passionately devoted to a luxurious and idle ‘life, the generality of Indians find too many resources in their ‘Zenanas to exchange them voluntarily for the cares of Cutchery ‘or the tumults of camp.”

But with improved religious and literary tastes the old Indian

is passing away and men are inclined to go to the other extreme and remain "Everlasting Griffs"—ever learning.

With the exception of Buchanan, Thomson, Martyn, Browne and a few others, the *India Chaplaincy* has been bare of men distinguished either for pulpit eloquence, pastoral visiting or theological knowledge. David Browne who came out in 1786 was the first man of any note; previous to that period and 1756 there were 13 Chaplains; of these 2 died, one in the Black Hole, another at Fulta among the fugitives, 5 died after about 3 years' service, none of them "studied the language of the Gentus." The first Chaplain we have mention of in Calcutta is the Rev. S. Briencliffe in 1714. Seeing the want of schools, the Portuguese "having none, but bringing up their slaves in their own faith," he proposed to establish one, but met with no encouragement. Mr. Bellamy perished in the Black Hole. Butler and Cape were Chaplains in 1758 and assisted Kiernander in raising money for missionary operations, they died there in 1761. Stavely succeeded but was carried off by an epidemic in 1762. Dr. Burns, Hulser, Chaplain to Sir E. Carter, Owen, Blanshard and Johnson were subsequent Chaplains. Large fortunes were made by them in days when 16 or 20 gold-mohurs were a common fee for a marriage and 5 gold-mohurs the smallest fee for a baptism. "Goldmohurs are dealt about in Calcutta as half-crowns in England." We in vain search for traces of any of the Chaplains last century having been distinguished for oriental scholarship. Valentia writes of them in 1802 "as noted for the unedifying contests that prevail among them even in the pulpit, which tend to lower the religion and its followers in the eyes of the natives of every description." The late Bishop Wilson's opinion, regarding Chaplains was similar; he once declared publicly, that half his time was spent in settling their quarrels. Major S. Waring recommended in 1807 that Chaplains should in future confine themselves to the souls of their own countrymen,—there was little occasion for that advice, as the Chaplains have never been over zealous in "teaching the Gentus."

The name of *Doctor* will ever be dear to Calcutta, in connection with Surgeon Hamilton who cured of a malignant distemper the great Mogul, and was allowed by him as a mark of gratitude a piece of ground for his countrymen. Surgeon Kerr who died in 1782 was distinguished as well by his medical knowledge, as by his "improving the Arts, and enriching Science by his discoveries in India." Dr. Wade died in 1802, he published various medical tracts and had finished a large volume on the His-

tory of Assam,—where is it? Hartley House states last century of the Doctors:—

“Physic, as well as law, is a gold mine to its professors to work it at will. The medical gentlemen at Calcutta make their visits in palanquins, and receive a goldmohur each patient for every common attendance, extras are enormous. Medicines are also rated so high, that it is shocking to think of: in order to soften which public evil as much as possible, an apothecary’s shop is opened at the Old Fort, by the Company, in the nature of your London Dispensaries, where drugs are vended upon reasonable terms. The following charges are specimens of the expences those Europeans incur, who sacrifice to appearances. An ounce of bark, three rupees; an ounce of salts, one rupee; a bolus, one rupee; a blister, two rupees,—and so on in proportion, so that literally speaking, you may ruin your fortune to preserve your life. But then to balance this formidable account, every profession has its amazing advantages: accordingly, as I am told, that it is no uncommon thing to clear a hundred and forty per cent. by merchandize on many European articles and particularly the ornamental for ladies and on men’s hats.”

In 1780 the following squib on some of the doctors appeared in one of the Calcutta papers—we fear it was too true:—

Such Doctors who never saw Leyden, or Flanders,
Run counter to reason, and bleed in the jaundice.
If your wife has a headache let Sangrado but touch her
And he’ll jobb in his Launcet like any hog Butcher
Tho’ in putrid complaints, dissolution is rapid,
He’ll bleed you to render the Serum more vapid.

But consider the cause sure, ’twill give one the hip man,
To see dubb’d a Doctor, a special good Midshipman,
Who handels your pulse as he’d handel a rope,
And conceives your complaint, just as clear as the Pope.

English ladies in Calcutta last century were few and very expensive. Stavorinus thus describes them in 1770. “Domestic peace and tranquillity must be purchased by a shower of jewels, a wardrobe of the richest clothes, and a kingly parade of plate upon the sideboard; the husband must give all these, or according to a vulgar phrase “the house would be too hot to hold him,” while the wife never pays the least attention to her domestic concerns, but suffers the whole to depend upon her servants or slaves. The women generally rise between eight and nine o’clock. Dinner is ready at half past one; they go to sleep till half past four or five; they then dress in form, and the evening and part of the night is spent in company or at dan-

‘cing parties, which are frequent during the colder season. They
 ‘are fond of parties of pleasure, which are frequently made, both
 ‘upon the delightful banks and upon the pleasant waves of the
 ‘Ganges. Yet these and all other amusements, are here peculi-
 ‘arly expensive.” Up to the close of the century they amounted
 to no more than 250 in Bengal and its dependencies, while the
 European male inhabitants of respectability, including military
 officers, were about 4000. Besides, few coming out through dread
 of the climate, no lady could be landed in Bengal at a less cost than
 5000 rupees; freight was high, a monopoly of the Company—
 £25 a ton paid for goods, now to be sent at £5; a good table was
 kept during a long voyage, which then as now afforded leisure
 and scope for fiery hearts and gossiping tongues. Hickey’s
Gazette states of this in 1780. “In my last I sent you an ac-
 ‘count of the number of ladies which has arrived in the late
 ‘ships, there came eleven in one vessel, too great a number for
 ‘the peace and good order of a Round House. Millinery must
 ‘rise at least 25 per cent. for the above ladies, when they left
 ‘England were well stocked with Head Dresses of different kinds,
 ‘formed to the highest ton. But from the unfortunate disputes,
 ‘which daily arose during the space of the three last months of
 ‘the passage they had scarce a cap left when they arrived.”*

The *marriage question* is one that occupied an important place
 in Old Calcutta, in the days when Edinburgh was called “the
 flesh market for the Indian marriage mart.” London sent sup-
 plies out too. Grand Pre states of this. “From a knowledge

* What Stavorinus states of the Dutch ladies at Batavia is *ceteris*
paribus applicable to those of Bengal. “They are in general, of a very delicate
 make and of an extreme fair complexion; but the tints of vermil-
 lion which embellish our Northern ladies, are wholly absent from their
 cheeks; the skin of their face and hands, is of the most deadly pale white.
 They have very supple joints and can turn their fingers, hands, and
 arms in almost every direction; but this they have in common
 with the women in the West Indies, and in other tropical cli-
 mates. They are commonly of a listless and lazy temper; but this
 ought to be ascribed to their education, and the number of slaves of
 both sexes, that they always have to wait upon them. They rise
 about half past seven, or eight o’clock, in the morning. They spend the
 forenoon in playing and toying with their female slaves, whom they are never
 without, and in laughing and talking with them, while a few moments after-
 wards, they will have the poor creatures whipped unmercifully, for the
 merest trifle. They loll in a loose and airy dress, upon a sofa, or sit upon
 a low stool, or upon the ground, with their legs crossed under them.
 In the mean time, they do not omit the chewing of pinang, or betel, with
 which custom all the Indian women are infatuated; they likewise masticate
 the Java tobacco; this makes their spittle of a crimson colour, and
 when they have done it long, they get a black border along their lips, their
 teeth become black, and their mouths are very disagreeable.”

‘of this general predilection in favour of matrimony in India, the English, who are inclined to every sort of speculation, send thither annually whole cargoes of females, who are tolerably handsome and are seldom six months in the country without getting husbands. These cargoes were impatiently expected by such as not liking the orphans, are tired of celibacy, and on the look out for the arrival of the ships they were eager, as in other places, for a freight of merchandise to make purchases of goods. What is more extraordinary, these marriages are in general happy. The women, removed from Europe from a situation of mediocrity, often of unhappiness, to a distant country where they pass suddenly into a state of opulence, feel as they ought the sentiments of gratitude due to the men, who share with them their fortunes. They become both good wives and good mothers, and are therefore generally preferred to the natives, who are continually wishing for the luxuries in which they were brought up. These matrimonial ventures afford the means of keeping up the white race, at Bengal, and prevent the Portuguese caste from increasing so fast as on the coast. This caste is called here *topas*, from the word *topi* which signifies in the Portuguese language a hat. The name is given to such Indians as change their own for the European dress and wear a hat instead of a turban.”

On a young lady landing the church itself was made a place for courtships, and the first three nights after landing the young lady—who came to see her aunt,—remained up all night to receive visitors who crowded the house of some lady of rank, as if at an Irish wake—the rule being “strike the iron while hot.” Marriages were accordingly as quickly got up as those at Kidderpore, but the Governor General’s licence to be married was necessarily to constitute it a legal one. Many matches were concluded even before the third night of exhibition, but in special cases a fourth night was required for the banquet of bachelors from the interior. There were no punkahs in those days—with tight lacing, musquitos and a crowd, the lady must have suffered much—and she had to return all the visits. About 1780 the practice began to fall into disuse owing to the increase of people and of houses, some of which were at a great distance from others. There was great competition then for marriageable ladies, as the following notice of Hickey’s *Gazette* of 1780 illustrates.

“It is said that Captain H— was last night or will soon be married to Miss P—, a lady of merit and genteel accomplishments. We are told here that several other happy unions of the same nature are now meditating and will soon take place in Calcutta. Happy people! who have the opportunity of rendering yourselves to the fair, a blessing seldom experienced by us poor fellows in this remote part of the country. Make the most of your

present situation, I advise you ; for the gentlemen out of the provinces, believing that forestalling is contrary to law, as they are assured it is repugnant to equity, are determined to apply to the Judges for an order of Court, that an equal division of beauty may be made, and they hope to have the support of Government in this their prayer as Remits are no less necessary than civilians to the welfare of the state."

The consequences of hasty marriage were often deplorable, Calcutta having been noted for its *Affairs de Cœur* almost as much as the Court of Versailles, and a husband was often regarded by the lady as an Italian lady generally views hers. On the slightest attack of illness the wife found a pretext for leaving for Europe a husband, to whom she had no attachment nor had he for her,—in various cases the ship had scarcely reached Kedgiri, before the husband had supplied himself with "a seraglio of black dames." Cases have been even known, when the doctor was bribed by the husband to give an order for a change of climate. Men old enough to make a girl guilty of a breach of the canonical articles which positively forbid your marrying your grand-father, were wedded to girls in their teens with little or no attraction. No wonder it was remarked of those marriages "Hymen in Calcutta is seldom attended at the nuptial ceremony by Cupid." Marriages were celebrated in the evening, we find it so in 1778—how much earlier we do not know. "Weddings here are very joyous things to all parties; especially, I should suppose, to the padre or clergyman, who frequently receives twenty goldmohurs for his trouble of performing the ceremony. The bride and bridegroom's friends assemble, all elegantly dressed, at one or other of the young couple's nearest relatives, and are most sumptuously entertained; and the congratulatory visits on the occasion put the whole town in motion."

Notices of marriages were written in a curious style, this is one of 1780. "Married last Saturday at Cossimbazar the 'Honourable David Anstruther, a Lieutenant of the yellow, to 'Miss Donaldson of that place, a young lady of beauty and infinite 'accomplishments." In those days all ladies were considered beauties, "tritons among the minnows," but few ladies of good education or good family would venture out of England. Scotland sent a supply and of them it is observed in 1800. "The generality of ladies who come annually from Europe, though doubtless of unsullied virtue, are by no means such as a person at all scrupulous in the connexions he formed, would select from, for a partner for life."

The establishment of the Supreme Court in Calcutta last century introduced the *lawyers* into Calcutta, to the great loss, and sorrow of the natives, who have found English law the

dearest and worst of all law. Asiaticus writes thus in 1774. "The numerous dependants, which have arrived in the 'train of the Judges, and of the new Commander-in-Chief of 'the forces, will of course be appointed to all the posts of any 'emolument, and we must do those gentlemen the justice to 'observe, that, both in number and capacity, they exactly resemble an army of locusts sent to devour the fruits of the earth."

Hartley House mentions—"No wonder lawyers return from 'this country rolling in wealth, their fees are enormous; if you 'ask a single question on any affair, you pay down your goldmohur, 'and if he writes a letter of only three lines twenty-eight 'rupees! I tremble at the idea of coming into their hands; 'for what must be the recoveries, to answer such immense 'charges! you must, however, be informed, that the number of 'acting attornies on the court roll is restricted to twelve; who 'serve an articulated clerkship or three years only, instead of five, as 'in England. The fee for making a will is in proportion to its 'length, from five goldmohurs upwards; and as to marriage 'articles I should imagine they would half ruin a man, and 'a process at law be the destruction of both parties. A man of 'abilities and good address in this line, if he has the firmness 'to resist the fashionable contagion, gambling, need only pass 'one seven years of his life at Calcutta, to return home in affluent 'circumstances; but the very nature of their profession leads 'them into gay connections, and, having for a time complied with 'the humour of their company from prudential motives, they 'become tainted and prosecute their bane from the impulses of 'inclination."

About 1820 a Tirhoot planter published a work on India and gives the following view which corresponds with other statements, of the *Mercantile Houses* last century. "The Calcutta agents form a very prominent part of the community, and from their extensive mercantile connexions, occupy a large space in the public eye. These gentlemen, according to a bombastic mode of expression usual in India, are called, by way of eminence, the princely merchants of Calcutta. Indeed the princes of the desk and ledger are very fond of adulation, and take pride in the high-sounding epithets applied to them, by persons some twenty or fifty thousand rupees minus in their books. People in the East are addicted to pompous titles; the emperor's court abounded in "lights of the world, invincible swords, and supporters of the throne." I dare say these ledger princes, whose insignia should consist of a bale of cotton for a crown, and an indigo chest for a sceptre, by and by will be metamorphosed into ornaments of our Indian empire and 'mighty lords of the

quill'—high in dignity. But a truce to levity, and let us examine what the princely merchants are. During the war Calcutta agency houses consisted of old establishments, which engrossed a great part of all commercial transactions, and might be termed a mercantile aristocracy. Possessed of large factories and numerous constituents through India, the trader was entirely dependant upon them, and an agent dictated his terms, from which there was no appeal. At present the case is different; inferior houses of agency have started up, new establishments have been formed, and an agent cannot dictate terms to persons possessed of some property, as they may have recourse to these inferior houses, so that the aristocracy is fast losing its domineering ascendancy: they act as agents to civil servants, officers in the army, &c., and lend money to merchants or traders upon terms very favourable to themselves, so that it often happens, when these are losers by a speculation, the agent is a gainer. During the war, when commercial men sometimes made their fortune by a happy incident, they charged forty, fifty, and ninety per cent. for money advanced; however, at present, that trade is dull; they are compelled to be moderate and content themselves with thirty. This exorbitant percentage, they make out in the shape of interest for money, commissions, charges, godown rents, &c., which often startle and gail an unwary constituent. I have heard of cases where this latter has sat down full of satisfaction, and calculated a pretty little balance in his own favour, after allowing for the common interest of money; but this was reckoning without his host. He goes to his agent, requests his account, and starts at a debt which stares him in the face, more frightful than Hector's ghost was to pious Æneas. The agents have indigo factories, cotton factories, and other possessions in the interior, over which they appoint managers, and allow them a share in the concern, also a salary for their trouble; with these they adopt the same system as with speculators, so that managers are often involved in debt, whilst the agent is a gainer. This was the case with indigo planters for many years; they laboured, they sweated, and found themselves in the end playing a losing game; however for the last two years, fortune has been propitious, and owing to the great rise in the price of that article they are getting rich in spite of incumbrances. Constituents, with an independent property, are neither more nor less than servants to agents, related, recommended, or otherwise connected with these latter; who possess establishments which must be superintended by some body, and into which these gentlemen are dubbed as managers, constituents or servants. When a consti-

tuent is deeply in their books, and has not assets sufficient to pay them, they insure his life to the amount; so that his death, which may not be very distant in a climate like India, discharges all arrears. They associate with persons of the highest rank, with whom they are concerned in business, and receive numerous visitors, in order to draw the ties of interest closer among their friends. To persons under them their tone is high and arbitrary, not the moderation of an English merchant, but the loftiness of an Indian; so that a young man, who would come in their employments, should have a flexible back, and be skilled in the art of boogieing." How much the merchant was in the power of the Banyan last century we may judge from the following description of that functionary.

"*Banyan* is a person either acting for himself or as the substitute of some great black merchant by whom the English gentlemen in general transact all their business. He is interpreter, head book-keeper, head secretary, head broker, the supplier of cash, and cash-keeper, and in general also secret-keeper. He puts in the under-clerks, the porter or door-keeper, stewards, bearers of the silver, slaves, running footmen, torch and branch light-carriers, palanqueen-bearers, and all the long tribe of under servants, for whose honesty he is deemed answerable, and he conducts all the trade of his master, to whom, unless pretty well acquainted with the country languages, it is difficult for any of the natives to obtain access. In short he possesses singly many more powers over his master than can in the country be assumed by any young spendthrifts, steward, money-lender, and mistress all together, and farther serves very conveniently sometimes in public discussion to father such acts or proceedings as his master durst not avow. There is a powerful string of connection among these Banyans who serve all the English in the settlements of Bengal, as well in all public offices as in their private offices. Since the great influence acquired there by the English, many persons of the best Gentoo families take upon them this trust of servitude and even pay a sum of money for serving gentlemen in certain posts; but principally for the influence which they acquire thereby, and the advantage of carrying on trade which they could not otherwise do, and which in this situation they frequently do, duty free, under cover of their master's dustucks. There have been few instances of any European acquiring such a knowledge in speaking, reading and writing the Bengali Language (which is absolutely necessary for a real merchant) as to be able to do without such a Head Banyan."

In 1833-34 the great crash came on the merchants of Calcutta who lived as princes—but with other people's money. The newspaper press of Calcutta was silent but the London *Times* told the truth in the following plain language. "The mite of the widow, the hard earnings of the military servant, the collected accumulations of the civil servant, the funds of the capitalist, and the realized treasure of the retiring pensioner, on its way from India to Europe, have all been involved in one common deterioration or ruin. They have been occasioned solely by the mode in which the great Calcutta agency

houses have been transacting business for the last ten or fifteen years, in other words since the Charter of 1814; the rage for speculation or inordinate gains, on the part of the directors, and too eager or confident cupidity of their customers, over-trading, improvident enterprize, extravagant miscalculation and excessive expense in living, have no doubt been the cause of the recent failures."

We give the following lists of failures of a few houses which show the ruin and dismay that were then spread in Calcutta, but the effect was little among merchants as some of the old partners of the agency-houses seeing the storm coming had retired with part of their fortunes, and penniless adventurers took their place.

Calcutta.

1830—Jany.,	Palmer and Co., reported,	...	£5,000,000
1832—Dec.,	Alexander and Co., admitted,		3,440,000
1833—Jany.,	Mackintosh and Co., do.,	...	2,700,000
„ May,	Colvin and Co., do.,	...	1,120,000
„ Nov.,	Fergusson and Co., do.,	...	3,562,000
1834—Jany.,	Cruttenden and Co., do.,	...	1,350,000

At Calcutta, 17,172,000

Bombay.

1833—April,	Shottan and Co.,	207,000
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London.

„ May,	Pickards and Co.,	950,000
„ Augt.,	Fairlie and Co.,	1,044,000

Grand total, ... £19,373,000

Missionaries were looked on last century, and part of this, by the Government, as a dangerous class of men; hence originated the following despatch of the Governor General in December 1807 to the Court. "The late prohibition of public preaching in 'the native languages at Calcutta, was rendered indispensable by 'some actual indications of solicitude, and incipient irritation in 'the minds of the native public, and in this city, in consequence 'of those provocations, in India, more than in any other country, 'the control of religious publications is indispensable for the 'public safety." Yet last century the stores for the Danish Missionaries were sent freight and duty free, by the Court of Directors, and in Lord Minto's time they were lent 300 pagodas monthly to be repaid. Missionaries in the Madras Presidency rendered great service to the cause of Natural History, such as Kœnig a pupil of Linnæus, Martine, Klein, Rottler, John. Swartz, at the earnest request of Government negotiated with

Hyder who would trust *no one* else. Governor Clive stood sponsor to the child of Kiernander, the first Protestant Missionary in Calcutta. But the Vellore Massacre had about 1808 roused Calcutta people to a sense of the slight tenure of their power in his country ; as a consequence, in a letter to the Court in 1813 we have the following alarm expressed in a pamphlet of the day at the proposal even to have a Bishop.

“Even names often have a great effect among the multitudes. The Bishop, on his arrival in India, will probably be called Lord Padre Sahab, perhaps Lord Padre Burra Sahab, and the Archdeacon Lord Padre Chota Sahab. These appellations and the very appearance of the dignified divines will excite curiosity, and curiosity produce injury. For what purpose are these great Padres come ? may be asked among each other. The answer will be obvious, alarm be excited and the recent irritations be renewed, and widely spread. The principal Mahometans, or their adherents, many of them as enthusiastic as any of our zealots for the propagation of their faith, will, as they did at Vellore, eagerly seize the opportunity and unite in flames with the Hindoos against the Christians.”

There was no ground however for alarm as the friends of Missions then did not advocate state interference in missions ; thus in 1813 Wilberforce in a famous speech in the House of Commons recommended the sending Missionaries to India, but added, “that the missionaries should be clearly understood to be armed with no authority, furnished with no commission from the governing power of the country. In the work of conversion, I abjure all ideas of compulsion ; I disclaim all use of the authority, nay, even of the influence of government. I would trust altogether to the effects of reason* and truth.”

Kiernander, the first Missionary to Bengal, was we believe the first who did any thing in native education. We find that in 1758 Mr. Kiernander had a school of 175 children, 78 of whom were instructed at the expense of the Christian Knowledge Society. Mr. Kiernander's colleague, a Mr. Sylvester, was then occupied in translating a Catechism and prayers into Bengali ; at that day it was thought by many as absurd a thing to give high instruction to a native as to teach dancing to a cow. We have an account of a Mr. Reuben Barrow, an able mathematician in India at the close of last century, who was asked by several natives to instruct them in astronomy and algebra. He began, but he was so deficient in suavity of manner as to drive the natives away, and to gain for himself the title of the Mathematical Hottentot.

* Major Scott Waring, who had been Secretary to Warren Hastings, came out at this time with a Pamphlet in which he recommended “the immediate recal of every Indian Missionary.”

Sailors in Calcutta have always been noted for their recklessness and speedy death. The mortality of sailors in the port of Calcutta was fearful, chiefly owing to their intemperance, and no means adopted to check it; in fact in the early days of the East India Company, such as in 1750, the charge was made by a proprietor against the Captains of *Indiamen*, "of the constant practice of making their crews drunk, and mad with the spirituous liquors they trafficked in, and the Commanders in the military swallowing the whole pay of your soldiers in the same trade; which was one great cause of the few there was, and of their ill-behaviour and desertion at Madras, when the enemy came before it." About 1780, Sobha Bazar was frequented by sailors, as Lal Bazar is now, "the noted place of residence of the black ladies of pleasure." In that year a great fire is recorded to have happened there, when Jack rescued all their property from the mat huts. Sailors in 1780 were in Calcutta loafers, "occasionally rambling over the country, disgracing the British name and weakening the hands of Government." We have an account of a press gang going after them to the punch houses, "pressing a considerable number of men who had no visible means of their support," thus ridding the settlement of great numbers of idle fellows "who may be useful to their king and country, by lending their assistance to chastise the enemies of *Old England* in this part of the world." The following is an advertisement to sailors in 1780 to engage in privateering, which was then reckoned a favourable opening to men seeking their fortune.

To all gentlemen, seamen and lads of enterprise and true spirit, who are ambitious of making an honorable independence by the plunder of the enemies of their country, the 'Death or Glory' privateer, a prime sailing vessel, commanded by James Bracey, mounting six 22-pounders, 12 cohorns and twenty swivels and carrying one hundred and twenty men—will leave Calcutta in few days on a five months' cruise against the Dutch, French and Spaniards. The best treatment and encouragement will be given.

Last century when Europeans were few, food and houses cheap and salaries high, Calcutta was pre-eminently the shrine of *hospitality*; a new comer found his hosts' house, servants and money at his disposal; spare covers were laid out at dinner and at supper for any friends that might drop in to take pot luck, merchants then had regular hot tiffins open to all their friends, and to those who wished to see them on business there was the freeness of French life; the increase of prices and multiplication of unknown adventurers necessarily placed restrictions on this open table system, and boarding houses gradually sprang up. Public breakfasts were customarily given by the

Governor General, and members of Council.—A preface to alevée “good and bad were to be seen around the same teapot. This ‘occasioned a native of some consequence to remark that ‘among Europeans all who wore a hat and breeches were gentlemen.’” Lord Cornwallis however discontinued the practice—it has of late years been observed in Madras.

Hotels were not established in Calcutta till about 50 years ago, previous to that there were taverns in the Lal Bazar and Cossitollah: the Wilson’s of 1800 was at Fulta where a large establishment was maintained for families and single ladies who had to embark and disembark there on account of the tide. On the increase of strangers and temporary residents in Calcutta the cost and comfortlessness of furnishing a whole house, led to the setting up of boarding houses. The increase of rent of late in Chowringee is leading many now to adopt the Paris fashion of having a suite of rooms in a house. In 1780 however we find an advertisement of an hotel in Calcutta to be kept by Sir E. Impey’s late steward and Sir T. Rumbold’s late cook—“turtles dressed, gentlemen boarded and families supplied with pastry.”

Commercial pursuits were not very consistent with literary tastes in old Calcutta; the jingling of rhyme was discord to the rattling of rupees, and the shaking the pagoda tree was preferable to every other pursuit. War and the Muses were equally at variance. One Johns kept a public library in the—old Fort about 1770,—new books came out only yearly, and there were few periodicals to tempt the literary lounge. Mr. Andrews who opened a circulating library, complains in an advertisement in 1780 of the loss he has sustained “owing to gentlemen ‘going away, and in their hurry not recollecting their being ‘subscribers to the Library or having any books belonging there-‘to.’” Another advertisement of his in 1780 states, “books are ‘kept too long, *one month* is allowed for a quarto, he alleges that ‘many sets were detained by individuals, cuts, leaves are torn ‘out.” The old *Hurkaru* circulating library stood many years. Printing was high, 500 per cent. higher than now. *Asiaticus* containing 142 pages 12mo., printed in 1803, was sold to non-subscribers at 24 rupees a copy.

Hickey’s *Bengal Gazette* was the first Calcutta newspaper, it was published weekly, and started Saturday, January the 29th 1780. The early number announced it to be “an antibilious specific.” No. 1 contains advertisements of “the comedy of the “Beaux Stratagem” to be performed at the Calcutta Theatre,” foreign intelligence from the *Liege Gazette* of March the 8th 1779.—News received from Bombay viâ Bussora dated September 15th 1779.

—Calcutta races, the subscription plate value 2000 Sicca Rupees. "Stewards of the racing club invite the ladies and gentlemen of the settlement to a ball at the Court House."—Madeira wine at 13 Sicca Rupees per dozen.—At Williamson's Auction Rooms, Old Play House, houses offered for sale.—West India sweetmeats, chariots, horses, ships. The Poet's Corner—Nicoll's advertisement of tavern south east of the China Bazar—a house for sale at Ducansore—to let a Garden House situate at Bread and Cheese Bungalow opposite the great tree. Government has given to Mr. John Princep an exclusive patent for coining copper pice." The investments used to be auctioned; among the lists of things occur swords and phaetons. Thefts are advertised in a way not to give offence, thus—as lost or supposed to be taken away in a mistake from the house of Mr. Brightmann in the Moorgy Hattah, a gold cane belonging to Mr. De Conti—borrowed last week by a person or persons unknown out of a private gentleman's house, a very elegant pair of candle shades; 40 rupees reward was offered. Scurrilous as the Calcutta press has always been, it was outdone by Hickey's *Gazette*. The editor, though it teemed with all kinds of obscenity, thought like subsequent editors that he could say what he liked; he advocated the liberty, i. e. licentiousness of the press, "the birth-right," as he called it "of every Englishman though not of venal *Scotchmen*." There was great jealousy of Scotchmen. Hickey writes "Scotchmen rule every thing in India, monopolise every post." In connexion with the newspaper press, subsequently occur the names of Greenlaw, Grant, Sutherland, Bryce, Buckingham, Richardson, Horace Hayman Wilson—they gave many brilliant articles but little Indian news, while the censorship prevented their criticising either Government or Bishop. The 'Bengal Annual' contained many most brilliant articles from the pens of Dr. Grant, Meredith Parker, and Calder Campbell; the 'Oriental Pearl' was also well done.

The Calcutta press being long under censorship could not express its views, but as soon as public opinion enabled it to shake off those restrictions, which were useful perhaps in a country like India, where we cannot expect the natives to respect the English Government when the European press is constantly abusing it, the Calcutta press became, generally, the advocate of class interests, i. e. of a handful of Europeans, in opposition to views of an imperial policy, which would include *both* Europeans and natives; hence the Calcutta press became the mere organ of the mercantile houses of Calcutta. But in 1833 attention was called to the disgraceful silence of the Calcutta

press, on the public exposures excited by Palmer and Company's insolvency.

Calcutta is the child of trade, Charnock founded it with mercantile views on the eastern bank of the Hooghly, though the western was the more healthy ; but there was a great number of weavers living at Suttanatee, and there was deep water. Yet it is curious there was a strong party in England opposed to trade with India, who raised clamorous complaints loud and general.

Calcutta has never had any European merchants like Jogut Set, the Rothschild of Moorshedabad, nor like the Mul family of Benares ; few of them were capitalists—except on money borrowed from natives. They were agents, and opposed by the Company, whose London employers preferred sending dear things out from London to finding them in India ; last century castor oil used to be sent out from England, reminding one of the directions forwarded during the mutiny by the medical authorities in England, apprising the Queen's Surgeons of the *recent* discovery of the virtues of the best fruit,—such things may be, as we have it on record that a cargo of skates were once sent out to Calcutta from Liverpool for winter recreation.

A brisk trade was springing up with China last century, merchants used to go from Calcutta every season to bring goods from it for the Calcutta market. One John Jones advertises in 1780 for orders as he is going to China. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1784 the following notice occurs of the Indian trade. " There is no branch of European commerce, that has made so rapid a progress as that to the East Indies. The whole number of ships sent to Asia by all the maritime powers of Europe, at the beginning of the present century, did not amount to fifty sail, of which England sent 14, France 5, Holland 11, the Venetians and Genoese together 9, Spain 3 and all the rest of Europe only 6 ; neither the Russians or Imperialists at that period sent any. In the year 1744 the English increased the number of their ships to 27, the Venetians and Genoese sent only 4, and the rest of Europe about 9. At this period 300 sail of European ships belonging to the several powers are employed in the East India traffic, of which England alone sends 68 being the whole of the East India Company's shipping. The French last year employed 9, the Portuguese 18, the Russians and Spaniards make up the remainder. But neither the Venetians nor Genoese now send one single ship to India."

In the present day when the mercantile interest of Calcutta is of such vast consequence, it is interesting to look back at the

objections that were once made against it. From a pamphlet published in 1621 we give the following objections to trade with India.

1. It were a happie thing for Christendome (say many men) that the navigation to the East Indies, by way of the Cape of Good Hope, had never bene found out; for in the fleetes of shippes, which are sent thither yearly out of England, Portingall, and the Low countries, the gold, silver, and coyne of Christendome, and particularly of this kindome, is exhausted, to buy unnecessarie wares.

2. The timber, plancke, and other materialls, for making of shipping, is exceedingly wasted, and made dearer, by the building of so many great shippes, as are yearly sent to trade in the East Indies; and yet the state hath no use of any of them upon occasion. For either they are not here; or else they come home verie weake and unserviceable.

3. The voyages to the East Indies do greatly consume our victuals, and our mariners leaving many poore widdowes and children unrelieved. Besides, that many shippes are yearly sent forth to the East Indies, and few we see as yet returned. Also, this trade hath greatly decayed the traffique and shipping, which were wont to bee employed in to the streights. And yet the said Trade of the East Indies, is found very unprofitable to the Adventurers. Neither doth the commonwealth finde any benefit by the cheapenesse of spice and Indico, more than in times past.

It is generally observed, that his Maiestie's Mint hath had but little imployment ever sithence the East India Trade began; wherefore it is manifest, that the onely remedie for this, and so many evils besides, is to put downe this Trade. For what other remedy can there bee for the good of the commonwealth?

In some thoughts on the present state of our trade to India, by a merchant of London in 1758, it is thus mentioned.

Tea, mean dirty drug, established by luxury, is become a necessary of life. Ridiculed by the *Chinese* our hardy seamen brave all climates, difficulties, and hazards, to bring them *gold* and *silver*, to take in return a few *dried herbs* and baked *earthenwares*. Infatuation!

Ship Building began to be brisk after 1770, teak wood being chiefly used; we have an account of the launch of a ship, built by Captain Watson at his dockyard Kidderpore. Warren Hastings and his lady were present at the launch and subsequent entertainment. After this, Indian ship building was viewed with enormous jealousy in London by all the dockyard men and shipwrights connected with Leadenhall Street. Even as late as 1813 a writer in England states—"is it not a matter to be deplored, that the Company should employ the natives of India in building their ships, to the actual injury and positive loss of this nation, from which they received their Charter. Mistaken as the Company have been in this particular, it is not very difficult to divine what will take place, if an unrestrained commerce shall be permitted; if British capital shall be carried to India by British speculators, we may expect a vast increase of dockyards in that country, and a proportional increase of

‘detriment to the artificers of Britain.” The selfishness of English landowners was invoked that teak should give place to oak. At that time, the natives had completed at Bombay the *Murder*, a 74.

Tailors formerly made a rich harvest by their trade, at the beginning of this century ; but not so great, as one Martin, who went out a *taylor* in the *Lord Clive* Indiaman in 1763. He found his trade so profitable that he refused to exchange it for an Ensign’s commission, and in ten years he gave his friends a dinner served up on plate, and shortly after retired to Europe with a fortune of 2 lacs.

Undertakers drove a more profitable trade, and the good-will of a rainy season was worth half a lakh of Rupees to them.

Milliners settled early in Calcutta “to the great dismay of husbands who are observed to turn pale as ashes on the bare mention of their wives being sent to enter milliners’ shops, for control is not an article of matrimonial rule at Calcutta.” While gentlemen conformed in dress to the requirements of the climate, the ladies of Calcutta dressed like the ladies of London, except that their fashions were some 12 months old. But these were days when “Nawabism was the stumbling block of their ambition, and flattery the daily incense of their sex.” In 1780, appears in the Calcutta papers the following notice, stating the complaint of the ladies, “that the retailers of China cargoes, more particularly of silks and other articles proper for their wear, would be more consistent with mercantile fairness, to display their goods to the ladies and gentlemen of the town in general before they permit Taylors and other shopkeepers (at hours too early for them) to select all the choice assortments in order to dispose of them hereafter, at an enhanced and exorbitant rate. Ladies and Gentlemen giving as good a price for their purchases as taylors, are rather preferably entitled to the prior choice ; and also to observe to them that if this unfair practice be continued they are determined not to give themselves that trouble of attending their sales.”

Gentlemen’s dress is different from last century. Williamson writes of it before 1800. “In many instances, these evening visits are paid in a very airy manner : coats being often dispensed with ; the gentlemen wearing only an upper and an under waistcoat both of white linen and the former having sleeves. Such would appear an extraordinary freedom, were it not established by custom, though it generally happens that gentlemen newly arrived from Europe, especially the officers of his Majesty’s regiments, wear their coats and prefer undergoing a kind of warm bath of the most distressing description both to themselves and

‘to their neighbours; but in the course of time, they fall in with the local usages, and, though they may enter the room in that cumbrous habit, rarely fail to divest themselves of it, so soon as the first ceremonies are over, in favor of an upper waistcoat which a servant has in readiness.’

Lord Valentia in 1804 states that English cloth as being more fashionable was superseding white. It was gradual, white so suitable to the climate was eventually superseded only by Alpaca. There was one singular article of dress however, Grand Pre states ‘to be secure from the attacks of musquitos, it is the custom to wear within doors, if one stays any time, whether for meals or any other purpose, *paste-board round the legs.*’ The change from white to black became very profitable to the tailors.

Grand Pre represents the English as trying the cultivation of the sugar-cane about 1794. “Messrs. Lambert and Ross were the first who engaged in the speculation. I visited their plantation, and had the pleasure of seeing that their fields looked well, and were in good order, and the canes promising, though smaller than those of the Antilles; this disadvantage however is compensated by the quantity of juice they yield, which is owing to the peculiar quality of the soil in which they are planted. The only thing that dissatisfied me was, that misplaced economy seemed to have presided in the establishment of the manufactories. The buildings were good, the coppers extensive and the mill well executed, but it was worked by oxen, which have neither the strength or perseverance of the mules in the West Indies. A water mill certainly would be much more simple and preferable, and the Ganges is rapid enough to afford a fall of water that would set any wheel in motion. At the period of which I speak, the natives were too little acquainted with business of this kind to be capable of conducting it, and workmen were accordingly brought from China for the purpose.”

We find the reward offered for returning a very elegant pair of candle shades, in 1780 was 40 Sicca Rupees. About 1780 the rent of an upper-roomed house, consisting of a hall and two small rooms, amounted to 150 Rupees in Calcutta; in a fashionable part it was 3 to 400 Rupees. The Bungalows of the day were equally dear. Food stood thus in 1778. “A whole sheep costs but two Rupees; a lamb one Rupee; six good fowls or ducks ditto,—two pounds butter ditto,—twelve pounds of bread ditto,—and a pint of veal ditto,—good cheese two months ago sold at the enormous price of three or four Rupees per pound, but now you may buy it for one and a half. English claret sells at this time for sixty Rupees a dozen.”

Housewives now must envy past time when they read the following account of Captain Williamson. "The average price of a sheep 'fit for fattening, is about a Rupee; but that price has only 'existed for twenty years. Before that date, the common value 'of a coarges (or score) was from six to eight Rupees; and I 'recollect, about twenty-nine years back, when marching from 'Berhampore to Cawnpore with a detachment of European 'recruits, seeing several coarges brought for their use by the 'contractor's sircar, at three, and three and a half Rupees! At 'the latter rate six sheep were purchased for a Rupee; which in 'British currency would be five pence each!" About 1780 salt was one Rupee a maund, brandy 2 Rupees 8 annas a gallon, rum 1 Rupee 8 annas a gallon, porter 100 Rupees per cask, Bandel sugar $7\frac{1}{4}$ Rupees a maund.

We give the *rate of wages*, recommended by Messrs. Becher, Frankland and Holwell, Zemindars of Calcutta, to the President and Council for their approbation and concurrence in 1759. And also what in the month of February 1787, at a general meeting of a committee of the principal inhabitants of Calcutta, was fixed on and shortly after transmitted to the Right Honorable the Governor General for his approval. We also append that for 1801.

	1759.		1787.		1801.
	Arcot Rs.		Sicca Rs.		Rs. Rs.
Consumer ...	5	...	11	10 to	25
Chubdar ...	5	..	5	15 "	30
Head Cook ...	5	...	6	10 "	20
Coachman ...	5	...	10	10 "	16
Head female servant ...	5	...	...	8 "	15
Jammadar ...	4	...	12	6 "	10
Kidmutdar ...	3	...	$5\frac{1}{2}$	6 "	12
Cook's first mate... ..	3	...	5	6 "	10
Head bearer ...	3	...	5	...	8
Second female servant ...	3	...	...	4 "	6
Peons ...	2	...	$5\frac{1}{2}$	$3\frac{1}{2}$ "	4
Bearers ...	2	...	...	15 "	20
Washerman to a family	3	...	10	6 "	8
Do. to a single gentleman	$1\frac{1}{2}$	...	4	5 "	6
Syce ...	2	...	$4\frac{1}{2}$	6 "	4
Shaving Barber ...	$1\frac{1}{2}$	...	$1\frac{1}{2}$	2 "	4
Hair dresser ...	$1\frac{1}{2}$	...	$5\frac{1}{2}$	6 "	16
Khurtchburdar ...	2	...	...	...	4
House Mally ...	2	...	3	...	4
Grass Cutter ...	$1\frac{1}{4}$	...	3	2 "	4
Harry woman to a family	2	...	5	...	...
Do. to a single person ...	1	...	...	{ Treble and	...
				{ quadruple.	...
				{ Besides	...
				{ cloths and	...
				{ Pawn 16.	...
Wet Nurse ...	4		

Dry Nurse	4	{ Besides cloths and Pawn from 12 to 16.
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Hadley about 1780 mentions the following as the expenditure.

"A Captain in garrison requires about thirty servants, namely a cashier at 20 rupees per month ; a house-steward, 10 rupees ; a market man, 4 rupees ; two waiters (generally slaves without wages) ; a cook, 6 rupees ; his mate, 2 rupees ; two running footmen, 8 rupees ; a messenger, 4 rupees ; 8 bearers for the palanqueen, 33 rupees ; pipe bearer, 4 rupees ; woman to clean the house, 4 rupees ; porter at the door 4 rupees ; linkboy, 4 rupees ; necessary man 2 rupees ; groom, 6 rupees ; grass cutter, 2 rupees. Whether wages are rose, we cannot say. But this establishment about 20 years ago would have cost monthly 113 rupees, (about 141). If he keep a female house-keeper and a carriage his expences will be more. In the field he will want thirty porters (koolees), as every thing is carried by hand, at 4 rupees each monthly. So little were they acquainted with these matters in Leadenhall Street fifty years ago, that an order went out limiting the Commander-in-Chief to fifty koolees ; when in fact he can hardly carry his baggage with three times that number."

The distinctions of rank among Europeans were rigorously insisted on in Calcutta last century, as strictly as at the Court of Lisbon. People were few, and the Anglo-Indians were equally noted on the banks of the Hooghly as of the Thames for social despotism, through boasting of political equality. This led to many quarrels. Stavorinus states the following with regard to the Dutch, which is equally applicable to the English.

The ladies are peculiarly prone to insist upon every prerogative attached to the station of their husbands ; some of them, if they conceive themselves placed a jot lower than they are entitled to, will sit in sullen and proud silence, for the whole time the entertainment lasts.

It does not unfrequently happen, that two ladies, of equal rank, meeting each other, in their carriages, one will not give way to the other, though they may be forced to remain for hours in the street. Not long before I left Batavia, this happened between two clergymen's wives, who chancing to meet in their carriages in a narrow place, neither would give way, but stopped the passage for full a quarter of an hour, during which time, they abused each other in the most virulent manner, making use of the most reproachful epithets, and whore and slave's brat were bandied about without mercy : the mother of one of these ladies, it seems, had been a slave, and the other, as I was told, was not a little suspected, of richly deserving the first appellation : they, at last, rode by one another, continuing their railing till they were out of sight ; but this occurrence was the occasion of an action which was brought before the Council, and carried on with the greatest virulence and perseverance.

Lord William Bentinck was the first man in high position to break through " the unjust and aristocratical distinctions which 'have for so long a period festered the feelings of those in the less 'elevated grades of Indian society, by extending the invitations

‘to Government-House to persons, who, previous to his appointment, had not been considered eligible to so high an honour.” He opened his levées at Government-House to a lower grade, much to the displeasure of Civilians and Big-wigs :—

Breakfast is described as “the only dégagé meal, every one ordering what is most agreeable to their choice, and in elegant undress chatting à la volonté; whilst on the contrary, dinner, tea, and supper are kind of state levées.” Business was despatched in the morning. Europeans then did not work as hard in offices as they do now, and when Lord W. Bentinck arrived here he was surprised at the laziness even then prevailing. The Europeans were eased by the keranies of a great part of the little work they would otherwise have to perform. The dinner hour last century was about 2 o’clock; it gradually became later. Lord Valentia states, in 1803 “at 12 o’clock Calcutta people take a hot meal which they call tiffin, and then generally go to bed for 2 or 3 hours, the dinner hour is commonly between 7 and 8, which is certainly too late in this hot climate, as it prevents an evening ride at the proper time, and keeps them up till midnight or later, the viands are excellent and served in great profusion to the no small satisfaction of the birds.” They partook much of highly seasoned grills and stews; a particularly favourite one was the Burdwan stew, made of flesh, fish, and fowl, a sort of Irish stew, it was considered not very good unless prepared in a silver, sauce-pan, Hartley House thus describes the dinner.

“At twelve a repast is introduced, consisting of cold ham, chickens, and cold shrub, after partaking of which, all parties separate to dress. The friseur now forms the person anew, and those who do not choose to wear caps, however elegant or ornamented, have flowers of British manufacture (a favourite mode of decoration) intermixed with their tresses, and otherwise disposed so as to have an agreeable effect. Powder is, however, used in great quantities, on the idea of both coolness and neatness; though, in my opinion, the natural colour of the hair would be more becoming: but the intense heat, I suppose, renders it ineligible. At three, the day after my arrival, as is usually the case, the company assembled, in the hall or saloon, to the number of four and twenty; where besides the lustres and girandoles already mentioned, are sofas of Chinese magnificence; but they are only substituted for chairs; what is called cooling in the western world, being here unpractised, and during the whole period of dinner, boys with slappers and fans surround you, procuring you at least a tolerably comfortable artificial atmosphere. The dishes were so abundant and the removes so rapid, I

' can only tell you, ducks, chickens, fish, (no soup, take notice, ' is ever served up at Calcutta.)"

Supper was light, at ten o'clock, a glass or two of a light wine, with a crust, cheese, then the hookah and bed by 11. Lord Cornwallis, on New Year's day in 1789, invited a party to dinner at 3½ at the Old Court House. Turtle and turkey courted the acceptance of the guests, a ball opened at 9½ in the evening, supper at 12, they broke up at 4 in the morning.

People sat a long time after dinner, enjoying stillness in the heat of the day, "It is no unfrequent thing for each man to despatch his three bottles of claret, or two of white wine, before they break up; having the bottles so emptied, heaped up before them as trophies of their prowess." Nor was this confined to the gentlemen. Hartley House mentions.—"Wine is the heaviest family article; for, whether it is taken fashionably or medicinally, every lady, even to your humble servant, drinks at least a bottle *per diem*, and the gentlemen four times that quantity."

In Stavorinus' time 1768, "peas, beans, cabbages, were to be had in Calcutta only during the cold season; in the hot season nothing was to be had but some spinage and cucumbers," but about 1780 potatoes, peas and French beans were in high repute. The Dutch are said to have been the first to introduce the culture of the potatoe; which was received from their settlement at the Cape of Good Hope. "From them the British received, annually, the seeds of every kind of vegetable useful at the table, as well as several plants of which there appeared much need, especially various kinds of pot-herbs. They likewise supplied us with vines from which innumerable cuttings have been dispensed to every part of Bengal and its upper dependencies." The Dutch seemed to have communicated the taste for gardens to the English, they had one themselves at Chinsurah made on three stone terraces raised one above the other with groves of trees behind. The French also at Gyretta had a magnificent garden. "In 1780 appear notices and advertisements in Hickey's *Gazette* of Garden Houses in Baitakanah, Baligunge, Tannah near Holwell Place opposite Murkar Thannah; Commodore Richardson's, delightfully situated at Ducansore, Russapagla; John Bell's eastward of the Sepoy Barracks at Chowringhee, a piece 400 yards from the main road leading to the salt water lakes; one with a hall, three rooms, and two verandahs on the Culpi road near Allypore for many years past. Mr. Crofts entertains the Governor General (W. Hastings) and his lady with several other persons of rank and quality, at his plantation at Sook Sagur," now in the river's bed.

With respect to *drinks*, beer and porter were little used being considered bilious,—the favourite drinks were madeira and claret; cider and perry also formed part of the beverages; ladies drank their bottle of claret daily while gentlemen indulged in their three or four, and that at five rupees a bottle! This was far inferior to the beer drinking propensities of various men 20 years ago, when a dozen a day was thought little of in Mofussil districts. A drink was in use called country-beer. “A tempting beverage, suited to the very hot weather and called ‘country-beer,’ is in rather general use, though water artificially cooled is commonly drank during the repasts: in truth nothing can be more gratifying at such a time, but especially after eating curry. Country-beer is made of about one-fifth part porter, or beer with a wine glass full of toddy or palm-wine which is the general substitute for yeast, a small quantity of brown sugar, and a little grated ginger or the dried peel of Seville oranges or of limes; which are a very small kind of lemon abounding in citric acid, and to be had very cheap.”

The houses in Chowringhee which now form a continuous line, were last century wide detached from each other and out of town. Asiaticus states—“Calcutta is near three leagues in circumference, and is so irregularly built, that it looks as if the houses had been placed wherever chance directed; here the lofty mansion of an English chief, there the thatched hovel of an Indian cooly. The bazaars or markets, which stand in the middle of the town, are streets of miserable huts, and every Indiaman who occupies one of these is called a merchant.” It was a love of retirement, country quiet, and to be removed from the pestilential air of Calcutta, which led about 1770 the English in Calcutta, like the Dutch at Batavia, to reside in Garden Houses. Such were Sir William Jones’ House at Garden Reach, Sir R. Chambers’ at Bhowanipore, General Dickenson’s at Ducansor. Very old houses were built in Calcutta much on the plan of ovens, the doors and windows very small; they had however, spacious, lofty, and substantial verandahs. In the old drawings few verandahs are placed to the houses, the Governor’s house and a few others had arched windows. But it is singular that they should have deserted the basement story, and occupied only the upper one, which is much warmer; the buildings were much stronger, it was with great difficulty, the Old Fort and Tanna Fort were pulled down, the bricks were cemented together as if they were rock.

The substantial build and isolation of the houses secured them against fire. Fires have been frequent in Calcutta among natives, but never to the same extent as at Rajmahal, in 1638, when

the whole city was burnt to the ground. The bazaars last century were not pukka as now. The Mussulmans however dealt in a summary way with incendiaries. Thus in 1780, a native was convicted at Moorshedabad of setting fire to houses, by throwing the tikka of his hookah on the choppers; having been in the practice of it, he was sentenced by the Phousdar to have his left hand and right foot cut off in public. In April 1780 we have an account of 700 straw houses burnt down in Bow Bazar. Another fire in the same month in Kuli Bazar, and in Dhurumtolah when 20 natives were burnt to death, and a great number of cattle. Machooa Bazaar about the same time was on fire, as also the neighbourhood of the Hurringbarry. "The alarm the fire 'occasioned was the means of rousing several foreigners from 'their lurking places in that neighbourhood who did not belong 'to the militia." In March 1780 a fire occurred in Calcutta, in it 1,5000 straw-houses were consumed, 190 people were burned and suffocated; 16 perished in one house. In the same month it is stated. "A few days ago a Bengali was detected in the 'horrid attempt to set fire to some straw houses, and sent prisoner to the Hurringbarry, and on Thursday last he was 'whipped at the tail of a cart, through the streets of Calcutta— 'too mild a punishment for so horrid a villain." The plan of incendiarism adopted was to fill a cocoanut shell with fire covered over with a brick, and tied over with a string, two holes being left in the brick that the wind may blow the fire out. A fellow was caught in the act in Dhurumtolah in 1780, but he slipped away his body being oiled. It was recommended that those owning straw-houses should have a long bamboo with three hooks at the end to catch the villains.

The *furniture* in houses was much less last century than now, as besides the expense of European furniture in those days, it was considered as heating the house and affording shelter to vermin which were then more abundant from the swamps near Calcutta. Chinese was therefore used. Mrs. Kindersley states on this point. "Furniture is so exorbitantly dear, and so very 'difficult to procure, that one seldom sees a room where all the 'chairs are of one sort; people of first consequence are forced 'to pick them up as they can either from the Captains of European ships or from China, or having sets made by blundering carpenters of the country, or send for them to Bombay which 'are generally received about three years after they are 'bespoke; so that those people who have great good *luck* 'generally get their houses tolerably well equipped by the 'time they are quitting them to return to England." *Glass windows* were very dear. Warren Hastings was one of the

few that had them. Mrs. Kindersley states,—“many of the new ‘built houses have glass windows which are pleasant to the eye, ‘but not so well calculated for the climate, as the old ones ‘which are made of cane.” Venetian blinds were used instead of verandahs. ‘Cocoanut oil was not much used by Europeans; they lighted up the room with wax candles placed under glass shades to prevent their extinction from the free admission of the evening breeze. *Punkahs* were not much in use as late as in the beginning of this century; even in the time of the Marquis of Wellesley who was fond of oriental style, fans or chouries made of palm leaves only were used, which must have been very disagreeable in large parties. A class of natives was employed for this purpose called Kittesaw boys “dressed ‘in white muslin jackets, tied round the waist with green sashes, ‘and gartered at the knees in like manner with the puckered ‘sleeves in England, with white turbans, bound by the same ‘coloured ribband.” But people moderated the heat by sleeping in the afternoon, and drinking their tea in the airy verandahs. They certainly wanted cooling when they began, like the people of St. Petersburg, to build in the Grecian style of architecture with high pillars admitting heat, glare, and damp. *Punkahs* are said to have originated here by accident, towards the close of last century. A clerk in a Government office discovered accidentally that the leaf of a table, suspended to the ceiling and waved, cooled the room; he worked out the idea and hence the punkah.

Wealth, leisure, and the climate brought in habits of *drinking* and debauchery—but Calcutta people never seem to have had such drinking bouts as were common in Ireland 70 years ago among the squireens. *Concubinage* was prevalent. Captain Williamson writing of 1800 states. “The mention of plurality of many ‘concubines, may possibly startle many of my readers, especially those of the fairer; but such is common among natives ‘of opulence and is not unprecedented among Europeans. I ‘have known various instances of two ladies being conjointly ‘domesticated; and one, of an elderly military character, who so- ‘laced himself with no less than *sixteen* of all sorts and sizes! ‘Being interrogated by a friend as to what he did with such ‘a number, oh! replied he, I give them a little rice, and let them ‘run about. This same gentleman, when paying his addresses ‘to an elegant young woman lately arrived from Europe, but ‘who was informed by the lady at whose house she was residing of the state of affairs; the description closed with ‘Pray, my ‘dear, how should you like to share a sixteenth of Major?” He puts down the cost of a mistress as a regular item of expenditure at 40

rupees monthly "no great price for a bosom friend, when compared with the sums laid out upon some British damsels." Such a remark of his showed the morality of the day. A man in a Calcutta paper of 1780 recommends the Christians to follow his example of seeking the society of a mistress in the heat of the day. The author of *Sketches in South India*, 1810, states. "Concubinage is so generally practised in India by Europeans, at the same time so tacitly sanctioned by married families, who scruple not to visit at the house of a bachelor that retains a native mistress (though were she an European they would avoid it as polluted) that when, setting aside the married men, I calculate three parts of those who remain as retaining concubines, I fancy I shall be only confining myself within the strictest bounds of truth and moderation." Civilians and Military went out as mere lads, before their understanding was ripened. We need not look for a high toned morality in Calcutta a century ago, when we find such men as Drake the Governor, and Clive bargaining with a traitor to sell his country, they themselves sharing in the spoil, while those dealers in treason and rebellion pocketed each some 20 lacs sterling. Force and fraud were the morality of the day. *Nummus quocunque modo!* what an example set to natives, when Clive, by counterfeiting or forging Admiral Watson's signature to a treaty, defrauded the merchant Omichand of 250,000*l.* Omichand became insane, Clive was made a peer, though he committed the same crime for which Nuncomar was hanged by English law. Nor were they worse than elsewhere, such as at Pondicherry of which Count Lally wrote to the Governor—"I would rather go and command the Caffres of Madagascar than remain in this Sodom of yours, which it is impossible but the fire of the English will destroy sooner or later, should it escape that of heaven." No wonder with such examples of morality in high places, that the first Engineer of Fort William, Boyer, cheated Government out of some 20 lacs; he afterwards entered the service of the Dutch East India Company. The following advertisement from an old Calcutta newspaper of 1781 shows what the prevalent vices were :—

Wanted

A Resolution not to bribe, or a determination not to be bribed.

Lost.—The dignity of high life, in an attention to trifles.

Stolen.—Into the country—the inhabitants of the Esplanade.

Strayed.—Sincerity and common honesty.

Found.—That the idea of liberty is fast verging to slavery.

To be sold.—A great bargain—the reversion of modern honour.

To be let.—Unfurnished—several heads near the Esplanade.

Missing.—The advice of two able men retired from public business.

On Sale.—For ready money—whatever ought to be purchased by merit only.

Scavengers' Contracts.—Any person willing to oppress the poor, may hear of full employment.

European *Mercantile Morality* has never been in high repute in India, nor were the English worse than others. A Dutch writer, Mossel, thus states of the Directors of the Dutch East India Company—"For a series of years they have been guilty of 'the greatest enormities, and the foulest dishonesty; they have 'looked upon the Company's effects confided to them as a booty 'thrown open to their depredations; they have most shamefully 'and arbitrarily falsified the invoice prices." Nor was the fault solely the want of principle on the part of merchants, it was owing to laziness; Grand Pre writes of Madras, what applies to *Calcutta also*. "The trade of Madras is still more completely in the hands of the Blacks than that of Pondicherry, the concerns being more extensive and more lucrative, and the sales more brisk. The European merchant entirely neglects the minute details, and looks only at the abstract of the accounts given him by his *dobachi*: a negligence perfectly suited to the manner in which he lives, at a distance from the spot where his affairs are conducted, which he visits only once a day, and that not regularly, and bestows upon them two or three hours' attention."

Atkinson in his "City of Palaces" thus alludes to this state of things.

"Calcutta! nurse of opulence and vice,
Thou architect of European fame
And fortune, fancied beyond earthly price,
Envy of sovereigns, and constant aim
Of kin adventurers, art thou not the same
As other sinks where manhood rots in state?
Sparkling with phosper brightness—
There stood proud cities once, of ancient date,
Close parallels to thee, denounced by angry fate."

Nor was *Civilian Morality* higher. Clive, Sumner and Verelst, appointed Commissioners of Inquiry into the conduct of Civilians, thus report to the Court in 1765. "Referring to their conduct, their 'transactions seem to demonstrate that every spring of the Government was smeared with corruption, that principles of rapacity and oppression universally prevailed, that every spark and 'sentiment of public spirit was lost and extinguished in the 'abandoned lust of universal wealth. They state that the residences of Europeans and free merchants, away from the Presidency, had frequently given birth to acts of insult and oppression."

Duelling was not very common, except occasionally on account of "ladies of a sooty complexion." Two trees, called trees of destruction, near the Calcutta Course, lent their shades for this

purpose; under them Hastings and Francis fought. *Quarrelling* however was very common, just as in small towns in England where people have little to do, and little news, hence the remarks of Asiaticus in 1778 were applicable all along to Calcutta;—“The infernal spirit of dissension perpetually stalks abroad, and the joys of social intercourse the ties of consanguinity, and the endearments of private friendship, are swallowed up in the undistinguishing rage of all-destructive faction.” Those remarks apply especially to the divisions in Calcutta society owing to Hastings’ and Francis’ quarrels.

The following poem published in Calcutta in 1780 on slander, illustrates the feeling towards it.

What mortal but slander, that serpent, hath stung,
Whose teeth are sharp arrows, a razor her tongue?
The rank poison of asps her livid lip loads,
The rattle of snakes, with the spittle of toads;
Her throat is an open sepulchre, her legs of vipers and cockatrice
eggs;
Her sting is a scorpion’s like a hyena’s shrill-cry,
With the ear of an adder, a basilisk’s eye;
The mouth of a monkey, the hug of a bear,
The head of a parrot, the chat of a hare;
The wings of a magpye; the snout of a hog,
The feet of a mole, and the tail of a dog;
Her claw is a tiger’s, her forehead is brass,
With the hiss of a goose, and the bray of an ass.

Hickey’s Gazette, August 1780.

Voltaire sarcastically remarks on the quarrels of Europeans;—“To relate the various dissensions of the Europeans in India, would make a larger work than the *Encyclopædia*. People cannot enough extend the limits of science, or confine the bounds of human weakness.”

Religion was at a low ebb in Calcutta last century, but so it was throughout England, and particularly among the middle and lower classes. We fear Montgomery’s lines applied to the Spaniards, were only too applicable to the English in India.

“The cross their standard, but their faith the sword;
Their steps were graves, o’er prostrate realms they trod;
They worshipped mammon, while they vowed to God.

Talk of religion—there was not even common morality in high quarters. Tippoo styled the English of his day “the most faithless and usurping of mankind.” David Brown was the first evangelical Chaplain that came to Calcutta in 1786, but his hearers were chiefly the poor; it was reckoned *unfashionable* to attend his Church. In religion the contrast between the last century and this is in some points marked. Compare Lord Hardinge’s Sabbath Observance Proclamation with the horse racing prac-

tices of Barrackpore, half a century before ; even as late as 1820 when Buckingham started the first daily paper in Calcutta, it was published on Sundays also. Half a dozen palanquins or carriages about 1790 were sufficient to convey persons on Sunday to St. John's Church : days when persons proceeded from Church direct to join the company at a Durga Puja Nautch ; " there was only ' one service, though the Padri's salary was liberal and his perquisites immense."

An anecdote is recorded of Lord Wellesley travelling up the country. He halted for a Sunday at a civil station when he requested the judge to read the Church service,—but he was informed there would be some difficulty as there was not a Bible in ' the station ;'—last remnants of the days when Europeans " left their religion behind them at the Cape of Good Hope to ' be resumed when they returned from India." No wonder that respecting the treaty the English made with Jaffier Khan, Voltaire sarcastically remarks ;—" We do not find that the English officers swore to this treaty on the Bible, perhaps they ' had none." These were days when we find a Colonel submit to be circumcised in order to get possession of a Mussulmani who would not on other terms submit to be his mistress.

Notwithstanding the number of Scotch in Calcutta, merry Christmas was kept up. Mrs. Fay writes of it,—

" Keeping Christmas, as it is called, prevails here with all its ancient festivity. The external appearance of the English gentlemen's houses on Christmas day, is really pleasing from its novelty. Large plantain trees are placed on each side of the principle entrances, and the gates and pillars being ornamented with wreaths of flowers fancifully disposed enliven the scene. All the servants bring presents of fish and fruits, from the Banian down to the lowest menial ; for these it is true we are obliged in many instances to make a return, perhaps beyond the real value, but still it is considered as a compliment paid to our burrah din (great day.) A public dinner is given at the Government House to the gentlemen of the Presidency, and the evening concludes with an elegant Ball and Supper for the ladies. These are repeated on New Year's Day and again on the King's birth-day. No doubt the influence of Portuguese servants, who like pomp and show connected with religious festivals, contributed to this feeling. On Christmas 1780, the morning was ushered in with firing of guns ; the Governor General gave a breakfast at the Court House, and a most sumptuous dinner at noon, several Royal salutes were fired from the grand battery at the Loll Diggy, every one of which was washed down with Lumba Pealahs of Loll Shrab ; the evening concluded with a ball."

Calcutta Europeans led not a very busy life last century. Little time was taken up, as now, in correspondence, business was despatched early in the morning or in the evening for an hour or two while the Keranie did the rest. There was not much need then of relaxation, for the bow was not much bent, but *vive la bagatelle* was the order of the day. Notwithstanding

complaints of the heat, and no punkahs to relieve it, *Dancing* was an amusement that was kept up with great zest. Asiaticus thus describes it ;—"imagine to yourself the lovely object of your 'affections ready to expire with heat, every limb trembling, 'and every feature distorted with fatigue, and her partner with 'a muslin handkerchief in each hand employed in the delightful 'office of wiping down her face, while the big drops stand 'impearled upon her forehead." This will enable us to understand the force of Lord Valentia's remark in 1803 :—

"Consumption is very frequent in Calcutta among the ladies, which I attribute in a great measure to their incessant dancing, even during the hottest weather ; after such violent exercise they go into the verandah, and expose themselves to the cool breeze and damp atmosphere."

At the close of parties ladies were occasionally treated to an exhibition of the wanton movements of the nautch girls, who exceeded, in stimuli to the passions, any performances in the ballet of the Italian Opera. At the Durga Puja time Europeans used to attend Rajahs' houses to witness nautches ; we have an account of one at Raja Rajkissen's, where the head nautch girl, Nikkie, got 1200 rupees and two pair of shawls of the same value for attending three nights.

At the *Subscription Balls** for the cold season etiquette and seniority of service were strictly insisted upon. Moore's Rooms were famous for the suppers after the ball—subscription 100 rupees for the season. The following is a curious advertisement about a Subscription Assembly.

"The tavern keeper's charge of 1997 S. Rupees for the entertainments of two hundred persons at the first assembly appearing to the stewards too extravagant a charge to be passed without the approbation of the subscribers at large, they request a meeting may be held on Monday morning at the Harmonic House at 11 o'clock to take the above into consideration."

Billiards were a favourite game, thus described in 1780. "The sums won and lost must keep the blood in a perpetual 'fever, even to endangering the life of the parties. In private 'families, the billiard is a kind of state-room. At the coffee-'houses, you are accommodated with tables and attendants for 'eight annas, or half a rupee, by candle-light, a certain 'number of hours—every coffee-house having at least two 'tables : so that men of spirit have as many fashionable 'opportunities of themselves here, as you Europeans can boast."

* Ladies' dancing makes a curious impression on natives. One of them many years ago gave a description of a English dinner party ; he ends with—"after dinner they danced in their licentious way, pulling about each others wives."

Selby's Club was a famous gambling one; but Lord Cornwallis put down public gambling with a high hand. Mrs. Fay writes of *Card playing*. "After tea, either cards or music fill up the space till ten, when supper is generally announced. Five card loo is the usual game, and they play a rupee a fish limited to ten. This will strike you as being enormously high, but it is thought nothing of here. Tré, dille and whist are much in fashion, but ladies seldom join in the latter; for though the stakes are moderate, bets frequently run high among the gentlemen which renders those anxious who sit down for amusement, lest others should loose by their blunders.

Boating, in long handsome boats called snake boats, was much practised, in the evening particularly, with bands of music. Gentlemen kept their pleasure yachts, and went occasionally in them with their friends to Chaudernugur or Shuk Sagur on pleasure trips. English as well as Dutch, fond of parties of pleasure, frequently made both upon "the delightful boats and upon the pleasant waves of the Ganges." Europeans now do not call the treacherous Ganges "pleasant waves." Stavorinus states in 1770. "Another boat of this country which is very curiously constructed is called a Mour-punkey; these are very long and narrow and sometimes extending to upwards of an hundred feet in length, and not more than eight feet in breadth, they are always paddled, sometimes by forty men, and are steered by a large paddle from the stern, which is either in the shape of a peacock, a snake, or some other animal; the paddles are directed by a man who stands up and sometimes makes use of a branch of a plant to regulate their motions, using much gesticulation and telling history to excite either laughter or exertion. In one part of the stern is a canopy supported by pillars, on which are seated the owner and his friends, who partake of the refreshing breezes of the evening. These boats are very expensive, owing to the beautiful decorations of painted and gilt ornaments, which are highly varnished and exhibit a considerable degree of taste."* It is mentioned of Warren Hastings' friends when he was leaving Calcutta, "their Budgerows were well stored with provisions, and every requisite, &c., so with pendants flying, and bands of music, to the last man and instrument to be found in Calcutta, they attended him to Saugur, the extremity of the river." Lord Valentia in 1803 mentions—"He came up the river in Lord Wellesley's state barge, richly ornamented with green and gold, its head a spread eagle gilt, its stern a tiger's head and body; the centre would convey twenty people

* The Director of Chinsurah's Budgerow could accommodate 36 persons at dinner.

‘with ease.’ The fact is the only drive was the dusty Course—there was no Strand Road, and no country drives; they had then to betake themselves to the river.

Racing was always popular in old Calcutta. An old race course was at the foot of Garden Reach on what is now the Akra farm; there was another however on the maidan. In 1780 a subscription plate of 2,000 rupees was advertised, and it was stated that at the close of the race the stewards will give a ball to the ladies and gentlemen of the settlement. Allied to *Racing* is *Sporting*, which besides the exercise it gave to inactive Ditchers, was of great use to the natives, numbers of whom used to fall a prey to wild animals, at the time when leopards infested the suburbs of Calcutta. Hog-hunting was the favourite sport, and Buckra, 15 miles south of Calcutta, was last century the chosen spot. Mundy gives us the following vivid sketch of a party there which will give an idea of the social enjoyment connected with hunting last century.

“At Calcutta there is—or rather was, for the paucity of game has obliged them to give it up—a hog-hunting society styled the Tent Club; who, not having the fear of fevers and cholera before their eyes, were in the weekly habit of resorting to the jungles within fifty miles of the city in pursuit of this noble sport. Each member was empowered to invite two guests; the club was well provided with tents, elephants, and other sporting paraphernalia; nor was the gastronomic part of the sport neglected. Hodgson’s pale ale, claret, and even champagne have been known to flow freely in those wild deserts, unaccustomed to echo the forester’s song, or the complacent bubble of the fragrant hookah. Gaunt boars were vanquished in the morning, their delicate steaks devoured in the evening, and the identical animals thrice slain again with all the zest of sporting recapitulation. How often has the frail roof of the ruined silk-factory at Buckra rung to the merry laugh of the mercurial S —, trembled with the Stentorian song of the sturdy B — and the hearty chorus of a dozen jolly fellows, who on quitting Calcutta left a load of care behind, and brought a load of fun. The above-named deserted edifice is situated far from the busy haunts of men, in the midst of an extensive forest, and was a favorite resort of the Tent Club on these occasions. The ground floor was occupied by the horses of the party; a large room in the upper story was dedicated to refectory; whilst three or four smaller apartments formed the dormitories of those who had come unprovided with tents. Some of the pleasantest days of my life were passed in these excursions, and I shall ever look back to them with the most grateful recollections.

To the ardent sportsman and the admirer of nature, these gypsy parties were replete with excitement and interest—the busy preparation in the morning—inspection of spear-points and horses’ girths—instructions and injunctions to syces and bearers—the stirrup-cup of strong coffee—and the simultaneous start of the lightly-clad sportsmen, on their elephants, to the covert side. Then the marshalling of the beating elephants, the wildness of the scene and richness of the foliage, the mounting of impatient steeds, the yells of the coolies, rattling of fireworks; and finally, the rush of the roused boar, and the headlong career of the ardent rider. Next follow the return in triumph to camp—the refreshing bath and well earned break-

fast. The sultry hours are employed by some in superintending the feeding, grooming, and hand-rubbing of their faithful steeds; lounging over the pages of some light novel, repointing spears, or rattling the backgammon dices, and by others who, perhaps the day before were driving the diplomatic quill, or thundering forth the law of the land in the Courts of Calcutta—by others (frown not, ye beetle-browed contemners of frivolous resources!)—even in that recreation in which, unlike most other sciences, the least experienced is often the most successful, namely the game of pitch-farthing!"

Natives of Calcutta have seldom joined Europeans in the sports of the field. In the times of the Nawaub of Moorsshedabad it was different; Kassem Ally Khan a century ago used to go with a train of 20,000 attendants and a body of Europeans to hunt.

Shopping was another pastime, but for the ladies. Asiaticus writes—"Europe shops, which are literally magazines of European articles, either of luxury or convenience, early in the morning are the public rendezvous of the idle and the gay, who here propagate the scandal of the day, and purchase at an immoderate price the toys of Mr. Pinchbeck, and the frippery of 'Tavistock-Street.'" Though sometimes great disappointments took place when, owing to strong freshes, the Indiamen could not make in time to Diamond Harbour—no new dresses for the season.

The practise of *Walking* was greatly in vogue last century, and in the absence of roads and vehicles was a matter of necessity. We find that Sir William Jones made a regular habit of walking from his house at the bottom of Garden Reach to the Supreme Court every day, and that in the beginning of last century the Governor and Members of Government walked in solemn procession to the Church every Sunday. Now the use of the legs in walking is considered vulgar. But the great place for exercise, i. e. lolling in a carriage, was a very good race ground at a short distance from Calcutta, a place of vanity fair for *morning* and evening airings, where people "swallowed ten mouthfuls of dust for one mouthful of air;" the Course was not watered in those days. People went there after dinner "lolling at full length,"—it required a strong stomach to digest the heavy meat dinners that were then taken. There were few roads. A correspondent of the Papers in 1780 expresses a willingness to pay a cess as "the roads so far from affording a recreation were a nuisance, and the exhibition of invalids in carriages afforded a lively portrait of St. Vitus' dance; what may be termed taking an airing or pleasuring at Chander-nugur, or Chinsurah may with equal propriety be termed taking a dusting or jolting when at Calcutta." Writers just

arrived from Europe might then be seen dashing away *four in hand*,—a speedy way to sink themselves in the gulph of debt, gentlemen carried on a flirtation with the ladies.

Musical parties were occasionally resorted to, sometimes in the afternoon. There was the Harmonic supported by gentlemen who each gave in turn a ball, supper and concert during the cold weather, once a fortnight; Lady Chambers occasionally played on the harpsichord at those meetings. Pianos were very dear, 2,000 rupees being frequently paid for a grand one; they were not seasoned for the climate.

The *Theatre*, built new, where the Scotch Church is, was erected by subscription shares of 100 rupees each, about the year 1760 at the cost of a lac of rupees. Amateurs performed, though sometimes laughed at; box-tickets were a gold-mohur each. Yet it soon got into debt: though amateurs, all males, performed, but they would have new dresses for every character, good suppers after every rehearsal, and tickets for their friends. The doors opened at 8; the door-keepers were Europeans, "as natives would not have sufficient authority." The Marquis Cornwallis evinced marked displeasure against any Government servant who took part in the performance, and it gradually declined; its locality about 1790 was becoming unfashionable, as Calcutta is now. Calcutta was "moving out of town" towards Chowringhee. The theatre has never succeeded in Calcutta, not even in the days of Horace Wilson and Henry Torrens.

As a sequel to the hookah came the *Siesta*, or mid-day rest, so common in Italy and all tropical countries, so refreshing to early risers; it succeeded to dinner and the hookah. It has almost disappeared from Calcutta; but last century "after dinner every one retires to sleep, it is a second night, every servant is gone to his own habitation, all is silence; and this custom is so universal, that it would be as unseasonable to call on any person at three or four o'clock in the afternoon, as at the same time in the morning. This custom of sleeping away the hottest hours in the day is necessary even to the strongest constitution. After this repose, people dress for the evening and enjoy the air about sun-set in their carriages, and the rest of the evening is for society." Many ladies now think it too luxurious to take the siesta, but last century, when it was taken by ladies generally, *morning* drives were in fashion, very healthy and more cheerful than a drive in the evening. Calcutta streets, now so busy between 4 and 5 when men are returning from office, were then as still as the grave—all were asleep.*

* The siesta was however sometimes fatal under circumstances like
SEPTEMBER, 1860.

The *Hookah* was the grand whiler away of time in the morning. East Indian ladies were said to have been much addicted to its use, while gentlemen, instead of their perusal of a daily paper, “furnishing the head with politics and the heart with scandal,” indulged themselves with the hookah’s rose water fumes, while under the hands of the perruquier in the days when pig-tails were in fashion. We have seen a portrait of the late Mr. Blaquiere dressed as a young man when he landed at Calcutta in 1774, with the pig-tail forming part of his head gear.

Grand Prestates of the hookah-burdar ;—“ Every hookah-burdar prepares separately that of his master in an adjoining apartment, and, entering all together with the dessert, they range them round the table. For half an hour there is a continued clamour, and nothing is distinctly heard but the cry of silence, till the noise subsides and the conversation assumes its usual tone. It is scarcely possible to see through the cloud of smoke which fills the apartment. The effect produced by these circumstances is whimsical enough to a stranger, and if he has not his hookah he will find himself in an awkward and unpleasant situation. The rage of smoking extends even to the ladies ; and the highest compliment they can pay a man is to give him preference by smoking his hookah. In this case it is a point of politeness to take off the mouthpiece he is using, and substitute a fresh one, which he presents to the lady with his hookah, who soon returns it. This compliment is not always of trivial importance ; it sometimes signifies a great deal to a friend and often still more to a husband.”

Old Calcutta paid no visits in hot weather between 11 and 2, it was deemed unhealthy. Mrs. Fay writes of visiting in 1778—“ Formal visits are paid in the evening ; they are generally very short, as perhaps each lady has a dozen to make and a party waiting for her at home besides. Gentlemen also call to offer their respects, and if asked to put down their hat it is considered as an invitation to supper. Many a hat have I seen vainly dangling in its owner’s hand for half an hour, who at last has been compelled to withdraw without any one’s offering to relieve him from the burthen.” But when the dinner hour

those Hadley states.—“ Having ate heartily of meats, and drank a quantity of porter, they throw themselves on the bed undressed, the windows and doors open. A profuse perspiration ensues, which is often suddenly checked by a cold North West wind. This brings on what is called a pucka (putrid) fever which will often terminate in death in six hours, particularly with people of a corpulent, plethoric habit of body. And we have known two instances of dining with a gentleman, and being invited to his burial before supper time.”

was changed to sun-set, about 1800, forenoon visits took place. However, as late as the beginning of this century evening visits were kept up. "After tea on the chabutra or terrace, or after 'a puff of the hookah, some gentlemen went to office to finish 'their business, others to a family supper and some to a visit." Captain Williamson writes on this subject;—

"When I first came to India there were a few ladies of the old school still much looked up to in Calcutta, and among the rest the grandmother of the Earl of Liverpool, the old Begum Johnstone, then between seventy and eighty years of age. All these old ladies prided themselves upon keeping up old usages. They used to dine in the afternoon at four or five o'clock—take their airing after dinner in their carriages; and from the time they returned, till ten at night, their houses were lit up in their best style, and thrown open for the reception of visitors. All who were on visiting terms came at this time, with any strangers whom they wished to introduce, and enjoyed each other's society; there were music and dancing for the young, and cards for the old, when the party assembled happened to be large enough; and a few who had been previously invited stayed supper. I often visited the old Begum Johnstone at this hour, and met at her house the first people in the country, for all people, including the Governor General himself, delighted to honour this old lady, the widow of a Governor General of India, and the mother-in-law of a prime minister of England.

Gentlemen who purpose visiting the ladies, commonly repair to their houses between eight and nine o'clock in the evening; ordinarily under the expectation of being invited to stay and sup, an invitation that is rarely declined. Among ladies who are intimately acquainted, morning visits are common, but all who wish to preserve etiquette, or merely return the compliment by way of keeping up a distant acquaintance, confine them to the evening; when, attended by one or more gentlemen, they proceed, in their palanquins, on a tour devoted entirely to this cold exchange of what is called civility."

Colonel Sleeman states that in 1810 Calcutta being more compact visiting was easier, as the European part lay between Dhurumtolah and the China Bazar, the neighbourhood of Writers' Buildings: the great tank was the Belgravia of that day. Men wished to be near the Fort in case the Mahrattas or Moguls should again come, and permission was given to every inhabitant of Calcutta to build if he chose a house in the Fort, but none availed themselves of it. Well they did not, for it was dreadfully unhealthy; as a specimen of it, until within 30 years the privies there were within 10 yards of by the soldiers' mess table. Sir R. Chambers lived within sight of the present Cathedral, but it was far out of town, and dangerous at night for the visits of tigers; but the retreat was suitable to the habits of that learned orientalist whose manuscripts the King of Prussia has purchased.

There were few carriages in Calcutta in the beginning of this century; ladies and even doctors paid visits in palanquins. How changed are the emblems of rank—we find that among the

Dutch the Director of Chinsurah was the only man allowed to be carried in a palanquin sitting upon a chair. In 1780, Coach-makers named Oliphant, Mitchell and Simpson were in business in Calcutta. One of their advertisements was ;—"just ' imported, a very elegant neat coach with a genteel rut-
' lan roof, ornamented with flowers very highly finished, ten
' best polished plate glasses, ornamented with few elegant medal-
' lions enriched with mother-o-pearl."

There were few excursions made from Calcutta last century. There were no roads outside of Calcutta, the road to Benares viâ Bancura was made about the beginning of this century, and was not furnished with Bungalows till about 1824. The previous road to Benares lay through Rajmehal to Benares along the Ganges, costing in a palkee or portable coffin, 1 rupee 2 annas a mile, or 700 miles=870 rupees—now to be performed for 80 rupees. The roads were infested with tigers. Captain Williamson states that when at Hazareebaugh about 1,800, "during some
' seasons, the roads were scarcely to be considered passable ;
' day after day, for nearly a fortnight in succession, some of the
' hawk people were carried off either at Goomeah, Kaunchitty,
' Kateumsandy or Dungaie—four passes in that country all
' famous for the exploits of those enemies to the human race."

Budgerows were available, but the time spent was enormous. Thus officers were allowed one month to go Berhampore by budgerow, $2\frac{1}{2}$ months to Benares, $3\frac{1}{2}$ to Cawnpore. Tigers were met on the route in the Cossimbazar island, Rajmehal and in the Sunderbunds where "they used to swim after the boats,
' climb up the rudder, creep over the room of the barges,
' and carry off the sentry, if sleeping on his post. They have
' been known, when one paw has been cut off, to endeavour to
' get up with the other."

European settlers with their hospitable roofs were few and far between.

Dacoity was common in the outskirts of Calcutta. We have heard the late Rudhaprosaud Roy, Ram Mohun Roy's son, state that when a boy no native would go out at night with a good shawl in the neighbourhood of Amherst Street, for fear of being robbed. In 1780 in a Calcutta paper it is stated, "a few nights
' ago four armed men entered the houses of a Moorman near
Chowringhee and carried off his daughter."

Of *Race Antagonism*, so fearfully on the increase in India since its transference from the Company to the Crown, there was not much last century in Calcutta: the invariable principle laid down by the Company that Europeans should come early to India in order to adapt themselves to the country, and the

severe punishments they inflicted on Europeans who maltreated natives, checked the disposition to "wallop niggers." However India has been one of the few countries held by England, where English rule has not tended to the extirpation or enslavement of the native, and the East India Company were gradually coming round to the opinion advocated by Lord Glenelg and many other high officials "that the English mission in India was to qualify natives for governing themselves." The terms applied to natives last century were commonly "black fellow," and "black." An advertisement in 1780 thus runs;—"found by a black a gold headed cane," the term nigger used of late in this country, seems modern, probably imported from the slave states of America, as the increase of American Captains in the port of Calcutta is introducing their views relating to "the nigger."

A native in former days in various cases was obliged, if when riding he met an European, to dismount until the latter had passed. The Dutch however carried this principle further; thus when the Director of Chinsurah was carried through the town (in a palanquin) the natives in certain localities were obliged to play upon their instruments of music.

In Ireland the English Government aggravated race antagonism, by introducing a strange religion, as a political object; in India it was different. In 1650 an incident occurred which had nearly endangered the permanency of the Portuguese establishment, but showed the tolerant principle of the English. At Fort Thomé, near Fort St. George, a Portuguese Padre had refused to allow a procession of the Hindoo devotees to pass his church. In this dispute the English most wisely avoided interfering, and after relating the transaction gave an opinion in the following words to the Court of Directors, of the small hope and great danger of attempting to convert the people of India.

"By this you may judge of the lion by his paw, and plainly discover what small hopes, and how much danger, we have of converting these people. They are not like ye naked Americans,* but a most subtle and pollitique nation, who are so zealous in their religions, or rather superstitious that even among their more differing castes, is growed an irreconcilable hatred which often produce very bloodie effects."

The *Vernaculars*, the great agents to lessen race antagonism and to link Europeans in sympathy with the natives, were little attended to, except the common *boli*. Dr. Carey found it diffi-

* See letter, Agent and Co. of Fort St. George, to the Court, dated 18th January 1650, and Agent at Masulipatam to the Court, 28th February, 1650-51.

cult to keep up his class at Fort William College, owing to this indifference, but another cause was that Portuguese was much spoken by table servants. Bolst was among the first Europeans in Calcutta who knew Bengali, and as Alderman of the Mayor's Court it must have been of signal use to him. He mentions an anecdote, illustrating this;—In 1776 a vakil of a zemindar presented himself before the Collector, with some serious charges as if from his master. In order to substantiate those complaints he pulled out from his turban and began to read very fluently a complaint in the Bengali language, translating it into Urdu for the benefit of the Collector, with some serious charges. But Bolst looking over his shoulder saw there was *not a word* written in Bengali, and what he pretended to read and translate was his own invention. Captain Williamson in a later day, 1800, remarks of some men 20 years in the country, who could not even take their accounts in the vernacular; “with such the sirkar was every thing,” the consequences were invariably, that he was rich, and master ever in distress! Even Kiernander, the first Missionary that came to Calcutta, did not study Bengali; he was occupied, with English and Portuguese services, and ministering to Europeans, though greatly to his own regret, for he found, as Missionaries subsequently saw, that the only real medium to get at the masses was the vernacular.

The Nawaub of Chitpore seems last century to have held an important position in native society and as a member of the Native Aristocracy appears to have been a connecting link between the European and native. Of him it is mentioned. “Formerly his residence was at a distance from Calcutta and his intercourse with the Europeans restricted to embassies, but now his Palace of Chitpore (for well does it deserve the name of a palace) is only four miles; and on such friendly terms does he live with the military gentlemen, that he gives them entertainments of dinners, fireworks, &c. &c., at an immense expence; but always eats alone, according to the customs of the Asiatic Mahometans, seated on the ground which is over-spread by superb carpets (by the way, the only carpets I have heard of in India—the fine matting being, for coolness, substituted in their place); and what will surprise you is, that the Captain, or the commanding officer of the Nabob's guard, which consists of a whole battalion of black troops, is an Englishman, a younger brother of an ennobled family, and who paid 80,000 Rs. (acquired in this world of wealth) for the appointment. The uniform of this battalion is the same worn by the Company's troops—red turned up with white, —with turbans to distinguish the divisions thereof. The

‘ exterior of Chitpore in some degree bespeaks the grandeur
 ‘ of its owner, but I am informed few things exceed the
 ‘ magnificence of its interior architecture and ornaments. The
 ‘ apartments are immense—the baths elegant—and the seraglio,
 ‘ though a private one, suitable in every particular to the rest
 ‘ of the building: nor must the gardens be unmentioned; for
 ‘ they not only cover the wide extent of ground, but are furnished
 ‘ with all the beauties and perfumes of the vegetable kingdom.
 ‘ When he rides out a detachment of his black troops attend
 ‘ him.”

After the East Indian and native noble the next link between European and Native is the Portuguese—a class of people of whom we know little. We give the following as a faithful picture of them in marriage. “Previous to the important day, each party chooses a bridesmaid and a bridesman, denominated the *madreea* and *padreea*, who, in addition to the duties which bridesmaids perform among us, are charged with the superintendence and arrangement of the procession and entertainment. They often contribute something towards the marriage feast, either a few dozens of wine, the wedding dress of the bride, or the flowers which are used on the occasion. All the friends of the parties are expected to send some gifts, in the shape of trinkets, or gilded betel-nuts and kuth; those who give nothing, lend their personal assistance: indeed, the following is an established formula, by which the old women acknowledge the little services rendered them by children:—“May I die! I promise to cook your wedding pillau!” Friends are invited by a notable woman, who goes about from house to house, repeating a set form of invitation. A large house is hired for three days, and fitted up, magnificently or otherwise, as the *madreeas* and *padreeas* have friends and influence. The gateway is adorned with an arch made of the trunks of plantain-trees and the leaves of palmyra, &c., and a similar arch is thrown across the street, a short way from the house, along which the procession is to pass to and from the church.

“The important day having arrived, the friends who meet at the house proceed to the church. The bride is generally carried in a chair, called the *bocha palkie*. She is covered with as much jewellery, chiefly gold, as her friends can muster. Her deportment throughout the day is a model of maiden reserve and modesty, according to the etiquette prescribed and handed down. Arrived at the church, the parson meets them at the entrance, and ties the hands of the man and woman, in token of the bond of matrimony. The return of the procession is met by a party of native singers, who chant the immemorable strain

“shaddee mobaruck,” or propitious union. At this moment, the mother of the bride is expected to lament bitterly her separation from her daughter; and at the nick of time, the voice of song is interrupted and drowned by her lamentations and outcries. Peace, however, being restored, the celebration of the marriage commences.

“The bride sits in state, supported by the madreemas, under a canopy of bamboo sticks and gilded paper. The friends as they come in are presented with a nosegay and garland, and presented to the bride and bridegroom, the former of whom is tenderly kissed by all females. When a superior relative comes in, such as a godmother or an aunt, the bride kisses her hands and asks a blessing, which is bestowed by making the sign of the cross. All being seated, tea and sweetmeats are brought in and handed to each guest, while the byes perform their evolutions and chant their melodies in a corner of the hall, until it is time for them to come forward. The byes then sing and dance before the bride, and receive from her a rupee or sikkee in recompense: in this manner they parade round the hall and receive similar gratuities, till the morning dawns and the company disperse.

“Should the madreemas and padreemas so determine, the byes retire to another room, and preparations are made for a ball. The bride and bridegroom stand up at the head of the ball; it often happens that either one or both cannot dance, or the severity of one or other of the parties will not allow of the bride’s accepting any other than the bridegroom for a partner; in such cases, the fiddles and clarionets sound a flourish; they commence, the bride curtsies and the bridegroom makes a bow, and both resume their seats, amid the plaudits of the whole company. The ball then proceeds. “When this Old Cap was New,” reels and country dances were in vogue to the tunes of “Drops of Brandy” and “Charlie Over the Water;” a horn-pipe was sometimes performed at midnight, and was deemed a special wonder. The times may have changed since then. While the young “trip it on the light fantastic toe,” those who have no relish for such amusements regale themselves with the wines and liquors, which are served out in an adjoining room, smoke, and chat until supper is announced. The whole company sit around tables arranged in one length, if there be room for the whole; if not, the men very gallantly stand and eat behind their female friends, off plates which they hold in their hands. The bride and bridegroom sit at opposite ends of the table, and at a proper season the bridegroom drinks to the health of the bride across. Then some friend, who is deputed for the service

and has courage and words at command, proposes the first and last toast—the health of the newly married pair. Dancing is again renewed, till the peep of dawn, or till some riot-loving souls get fuddled, kick and cuff each other, and so disperse the company. Before the one or the other takes place, no egress is allowed; the doors are double-locked, and every one is made happy in spite of himself. When departure is authorized by the superintending madreecas and padreecas, a search is commenced for hats and shawls; and many a beau, who had entered with a span new Borradaile or Moore, returns minus a chapeau, or takes up the shabby concern which has generously been left as a substitute for his superfine beaver.”

The Portuguese last century were the propagators of the slavery system, as the ruins of many fine places in the Sunderbunds bear testimony to. We find that as late as 1760 the neighbourhood of Akra, Budge Budge, was infested by slave ships belonging to Mugs and Portuguese.* The *East India Chronicle* for 1758 gives the following statement showing the origin of this slave system.

“February 1717, the Mugs carried off from the most Southern parts of Bengal 1800 men, women and children, in ten days they arrived at Arracan and were conducted before the sovereign, who chose the handicraftsmen, about one-fourth of the number, as his slaves. The remainder were returned to the captors with ropes about their necks to market, and sold according to their strength from 20 to 70 rupees each. They were by their purchasers sent to cultivate the land, and had, 15 seers of rice each allowed for their monthly support. Soon after this the Sovereign, Duppung Gere, was deposed by his Cutwal, Kuddul Poree; 25 men and a woman of the captives took advantage of the disturbances, fled and arrived at Chittagong in the following June. Almost three-fourths of the inhabitants of Arracan are said to be natives of Bengal or descendants of such who pray that the English may deliver them, and they have agreed among themselves to assist their deliverers. From time immemorial the Mugs have plundered the Southern parts of Bengal and have even been so hostile as to descend on the coast of Chittagong and proceed into the country, plunder and burn the villages, destroy what they could not carry away, and carry the inhabitants into slavery. But since the cession of the province to the Company, the place for the most part has enjoyed quiet.”

Slavery was at one time very prevalent in Calcutta as advertisements in 1780 show, thus:—

“Wanted

Two Coffrees who can play very well on the French Horn and are otherwise handy and useful about a house, relative to the business of a consumer, or that of a cook; they must not be fond of liquor. Any person or

* So great was the dread of the Mugs that about 1770 a chain was run across the river at Mukwah Fort (where the Superintendent of the Botanical Garden resides) to protect the port of Calcutta against pirates.

persons having such to dispose of, will be treated with by applying to the Printer.

Wanted

A Coffree slave boy ; any person desirous of disposing of such a boy, and can warrant him a faithful and honest servant, will please to apply to the Printer.

To be Sold

Two French Horn men, who dress hair and shave ; and wait at table.

From the service of his mistress, a slave boy aged twenty years, or thereabout, pretty white or colour of musty, tall and slender, broad between the cheek bones and marked with the small pox. It is requested that no one after the publication of this will employ him, as a writer, or in any other capacity, and any person or persons who will apprehend him and give notice thereof to the Printer of this paper shall be rewarded for their trouble.

Strayed.

From the house of Mr. Robert Duncan in the China Bazaar on Thursday last, a Coffree boy about 12 years old named Inday ; whoever brings back the same shall receive the reward of one gold mohur.

To be Sold.

A fine Coffree boy that understands the business of a butler, kitmutgar and cooking. Price four hundred Sicca Rupees. Any gentleman wanting such a servant, may see him, and be informed of further particulars by applying to the Printer.

East Indians, alias Eurasians, as a class, were then as now in a peculiar position. They ought to have been the opponents of race antagonism, they despised the natives and the natives despised them, yet the latter giving them such contemptuous names as *chichi*, *matia feringee*, i. e. *mud Englishman*.* Europeans also had strong enmity to them and called them half-castes, country-born, demi-Bengalis. Captain Williamson in 1800 opposes their admission to offices of authority on the ground that "their admission could not fail to lessen that respect and deference which ought most studiously to be exacted on every occasion from the natives of rank." The men of those days feared the East Indians, would mutiny and join the natives ! The author of "Sketches of India in 1811" gives the following, which embodies the view of Europeans last century.

"Characterized by all the vices and gross prejudices of the natives, by all the faults and failings of the European character, without its candour, sincerity or probity ; a heterogeneous set ; some by Hindoo, others by Mahometan and Malay mothers, as wills the caprice of the fathers ; what is not in time to be apprehended from the union of so large and discontented

*There was a class of East Indians at Chinsurah of whom Grand Pre writes thus. "Here, as in all the Dutch establishments, some Malay families have settled, and given birth to a description of women called Mosses, who are in high estimation for their beauty and talents. The race is now almost extinct, or is scattered through different parts of the country ; for Chinsurah in its decline, had no longer sufficient attraction to retain them, and at present a few only, and those with great difficulty, are here and there to be found."—We have not heard of these of late years.

a body? Why may we not expect the scenes of South America to be displayed in India? A body who have neither riches, honor, nor any advantage to sacrifice must ever pant for a revolution. It is a theatre from which they have every thing to hope, and from which, if unsuccessful, they cannot but return to their original insignificance."

Lord Valentia writes in his time of the fear entertained of the East Indians lest they "should become politically powerful and be beyond control. They were in Calcutta clerks in every mercantile house, though not permitted to hold office under the East India Company." Lord Valentia was in great alarm lest they should follow the example of the Spanish Americans, and of St. Domingo; he recommends a law to be passed requiring every father of a half-caste to send them to England and *prohibit their return in any capacity*. Little was done last century towards educating the East Indians who were generally left under the tutelage of their native mothers—we may judge what morals they imbibed. A Mrs. Hodges set up a school for East Indian and European girls about 1760, in which she taught dancing and French. The girls married off quickly, but then their character was said to have been "childish, vain, imperious, crafty, vulgar and wanton." Mrs. Hodges however retired in 1780 with a fortune. A Mr. Whitehead advertised in 1781 that he had opened a boarding school for boys, opposite the avenue which leads to the Nawab's Garden, Chitpoor, 50 Rs. monthly for boarders. Mrs. Kindersley remarked in 1767 "neither Mahomedans nor Hindoos ever change in their dress, furniture, carriages or any other thing." Her remarks are still applicable to the Mussulmans. But young Bengal with his Chop House and Champagne bills at Wilson's did not live in her day, though the dawn of such a character appeared, it is stated in 1780.

"The attachment of the Natives of Bengal to the English laws, begins now to extend itself to English habiliment. Rajah Ramlochun, a very opulent Gentoo of high caste and family, lately paid a visit to a very eminent attorney, equipped in boots, Buckskin breeches, hunting frock and Jockey cap; the lawyer who was employed in studying Coke upon Littleton for the improvement of the revenues of Bengal, was with the smack of a half hunter waked from his half reveries in great astonishment at the lively transformation of his grave Gentoo client, who, it seems, was dressed in the exact hunting character of Lord March and had borrowed the fancy from one of Dardy's Comic Prints.

The Nabob Sidert Alley, when lately at the Presidency, employed Connor the tailor to make him the following dresses, viz. two suits of Regimentals, Do. of an English Admiral's Uniform, and two suits of Canonicals. At the same time he sent for an English Puke maker, and gave him orders to make him two wigs of every denomination according to the English fashion, viz. scratches, cut wigs, and curled obbs, Queues, Majors and Ramilies; all of which he took with him when he left Calcutta."

The Portuguese Padris never won knowledge, or did any thing

in the vernacular, and their own moral conduct was very defective; however the Anglican church had an exception; Kierlander had some good men among his Native Christians; we have the following account of one of them in 1780:—

“Among the adult persons who have been baptized, is one Thomas of the Bengal natives, aged 24, who has made so good a proficiency in the Portuguese tongue and in the knowledge of the fundamental truths of religion, that he has, since the month of October 1769, been made use of as a Catechist to those of the Bengal caste to whom he is able from the Portuguese to explain the doctrines of Christianity in their own language.*”

* While the Portuguese Missionaries in India were indifferent to the natives and were mere political tools of the mother-country there is another class of Roman Catholics, who, though in Bengal they did little, yet elsewhere were great friends to the natives—we refer to the Jesuits in South America, and we give the following statement from a man who was no friend to the order or to priestcraft. W. Howitt, in his work on colonisation, writes thus:—

“The Jesuits, once admitted by the Indians, soon convinced them that they could have no end in view but their good; and the resistance which they made to the attempts of the Spaniards to enslave them, gave them such a fame amongst all the surrounding nations, as was most favourable to the progress of their plans. When they had acquired an influence over a tribe they soon prevailed upon them to come into their settlements, which they call *Redactions*, and where they gradually accustomed them to the order and comforts of civilized life. The Spaniards soon hated them for standing between them and their victims. They hated them for presuming to tell them that they had no right to enslave, to debauch, to exterminate them. They hated them because they would not suffer them to be given up to them as property—mere live stock—beasts of labour, in their *Encomiendas*. They regarded them as robbing them of just so much property, and as setting a bad example to the other Indians who were already enslaved, or were yet to be so. They hated them, because their refusing them entrance into their *Redactions*, was a standing and perpetual reproof of the licentiousness of their lives. They foresaw that if this system became universal the very pillars of their indolent and debased existence would be thrown down, ‘for’ says Charlevoix the Spaniards here think it beneath them to exercise any manual employment—those even who are but just landed from Spain, with every stitch they have brought with them, upon their backs—and set up for gentlemen, above serving in any menial capacity.”

One of those Jesuits, Anchieta, established himself among the Indians as a second Tellenbury; of him it is recorded:—

“Day and night did this indefatigable man labour in discharging the duties of his office. There were no books for the pupils; he wrote for every one his lesson on a separate leaf, after the business of the day was done, and it was sometimes day-light before his task was completed. The profane songs that were in use, he parodied into hymns in Portuguese, Castilian, Latin, and Tupinamban. The ballads of the natives underwent the same travesty in their own tongue.” Hear the final remarks of an

The Native Christians of Calcutta were few last century, and are now, after 40 years of mission work, little better as a class than the old Portuguese; ignorant and socially degraded, few have embraced Christianity from conviction, but either to get food or employment. They resemble in many points, the Portuguese Native Christians, but are not so bad as are the Portuguese described thus, by Mrs. Kindersley:—

“The Harri or Hallicore caste are the dregs of both Mussulmen and Hindoos, employed in the meanest and vilest offices; people whose-selves or parents have lost caste. But there is a resource for even the worst of these, which is to turn Christians—I mean Roman Catholics—and such are the chief, if not the only proselytes, the Missionaries have to boast of in the east, being mostly such as have committed some very great crimes, or have been made slaves when young, which prevents their ever returning amongst those of their own religion. If any woman has committed a crime so great as to induce her husband or any other person to cut off her hair, which is the greatest and most irrecoverable disgrace, she, like a thousand others, is glad to be received into some society, and becomes a Christian, so that most of the black Christians are more so from necessity than from conviction. The Portuguese priests, of whom there are many in India, receive all, baptize and give them absolution; as soon as they are made Christians they call themselves and are called Portuguese; the women change their dress, and wear something like a jacket and petticoat; and the men mostly affect to dress like Europeans. Their language is called Pariar Portuguese, a vile mixture of almost every European language with some of the Indian. This is however a useful dialect to travellers in many parts of Hindostan, particularly on the sea coast, and is called the *Lingua Franca* of India.

They are mostly in mean situations and are looked upon with great contempt by all the other Indians for the reasons mentioned. With these natives efforts were made to plant in ground not properly prepared or manured, baptism was regarded as a talisman. No wonder it was said of them “the whole of the European vices were engrafted upon the rich and fruitful tree of Eastern libertinism,” and hence “that thief, drunkard, dog, and Christian became synonymous.”

impartial observer. “The final expulsion of the Jesuits, deprived the Indians of the only body of real friends that they ever knew. Finer materials than those poor people for civilization, no race on the earth ever presented. Had the Jesuits been permitted to continue their peaceful labours, the whole continent would have become one wide scene of peace, fertility, and happiness.”

Some of the Portuguese were soldiers or topasses, i. e. *topée* hat wearers, but they were not much better than the late Christian Police Battalion formed in Bengal at the time of the mutinies, who soon backed out of their work. Of these topasses it is mentioned :—"they are a black, degenerate, wretched race of the ancient Portuguese, as proud and bigotted as their ancestors, lazy, idle and vicious withal, and for the most part as weak and feeble in body as base in mind. Not one in ten is possessed of any of the necessary requisites for a soldier."

Respecting the *Native Servants* in Calcutta last century there is little worthy of note. *Travellers* describe them as "lazy, lustful and pusillanimous, one European is enough to put 50 of them to flight, very intelligent, and not deficient in imitative genius." The *Banyans* were the most noted, very wealthy, and very miserly. Europeans were very lazy, much given to revelry and sleep in the day, leaving all their pecuniary affairs in the banyan's hands who knew how to charge their dustoori or costumado. The European was more in the power of his servants, his bearer dressed, undressed and washed him, while his banyan managed all his money matters, some of the rupees sticking in their transit. Mrs. Kindersley remarks of the influence of caste among them :—"The bearer's business, besides carrying the palanqueen, is to bring water to wash after dinner, &c. one brings an ewer with water and pours it over your hands, another gives you a towel, but it must be a Musalchie or a slave who holds the chillumchee, for the bearer would be disgraced by touching anything which contains the water after one has washed with it." Servants in Calcutta were very extortionate last century, as now. Mrs. Fay writes in 1780 :—"My Khansaman (or house steward), brought in a charge for a gallon of milk and thirteen eggs, for making scarcely a pint and a half of custard; this was so barefaced a cheat, that I refused to allow it, on which he gave me warning. I sent for another, and, after I had hired him, 'now' said I 'take notice, I have enquired into the market price of every article that enters my house and will submit to no imposition; you must therefore agree to deliver in a just account to me every morning.' What reply do you think he made? Why he demanded double wages; you may be sure I dismissed him, and have since forgiven the first, but not till he had salamed me to my foot, that is placed his right hand under my foot; this is the most abject token of submission (alas! how much better should I like a little common honesty). I know him to be a rogue, and so are they all, but as he understands me now, he will perhaps be induced to use rather more moderation in his attempts to defraud. At first he used to charge me with twelve ounces of

butter a day for each person ; now he grants that the consumption is only four ounces." The *Durwan* had formerly one duty invariably to perform in Calcutta ; during meals the doors were kept shut by him and not opened till notice was sent by the head servant that the plate was all safe.

It is difficult to account for it that in Madras, where feelings of caste are very strong, with respect to servants it gives little inconvenience ; in Calcutta it has been the opposite. Mrs. Fay writes, " none of the Mussulman servants would touch a plate on which pork had been laid ; this proved very inconvenient to the settlement, but people finding that the officers of the Fort had overcome that prejudice the whole of the " European inhabitants agreed to insist upon their servants doing the same as those of the officers at the Fort, or quitting their places. They chose the latter alternative, and in about four days they came back again requesting to be reinstated ; and acknowledging that the only penalty incurred by touching was the necessity of bathing afterwards."

The *Kerani*, or quill driver of last century, was not so exclusively a native as he is now. Education has enabled the natives to supplant the Armenians, East Indian and Portuguese *topiwalla* or topasses from their office, as he can do the same work for one-third the cost,—but Keranidom then was as mechanical as now. A writer in 1778 remarks of the Bengali Kerani:—" Though they profess to understand English and are tolerably correct in copying what is put before them, they do not understand the meaning of anything they write ; a great convenience this to such as conduct affairs that require secrecy, since the persons employed, cannot, if they were so disposed, betray their trust."

" Keranis were fond formerly, as now, of big words. Here is a letter written by one Bisamber Mittre, to his master at the beginning of last century, on occasion of an outer window having been blown down by a North West-er. ' Honourable Sir,—Yesterday vesper arrive great hurricane ; valve of little aperture not fasten ; first make great trepidation and palpitation, then precipitate into precinct. God grant Master more long life and more great post.

" P. S.—No tranquillity in house since valve adjourn.—I send for capenter to mak reunite."

Keranidom and education in Calcutta were then as now confined to Brahmins and Khaystas ; of the former Holwell, who presided 5 years in the Mayor's Court of Calcutta writes :—" We can truly aver, that during almost five years that we presided in the Judicial Cutcherry Court of Calcutta, never any murder or atrocious crime came before us, but it was proved in the end a Brahmin was at the bottom of it."

The Burra Bazar seems from an early period to have been the

nucleus of native trade. The Marwari and other merchants found there are all over India, and even beyond it. Forster in his travels in 1782-3 met with 100 Hindoo merchants at Herat carrying on a brisk commerce, another 100 men at Tarshish, and others settled at Baku Mushid, Yezd, and along parts of the Caspian and Persian Gulphs. Mr. Forster met at Baku a Sanyasi, recommended by some Hindoos to their agents in Russia, he was willing to go even to England. Hindoos have been settled at Astrachan as at Calcutta, without their families.

The remark of the first Judges hoping for the day when all natives would wear breeches, seems to have tickled the fancy of Calcutta people. An article appeared in 1780 on this subject. "The poor oppressed natives are providing themselves with 'bear skin breeches instead of buck skin; they are however prejudiced against the wigs."

There was a class of native servants in Calcutta formerly which now scarcely exists, *peons* to run before the palanqueen and carry the master's chatta or message; the *Chattaburdar* who bore a large umbrella over those who walked on foot; the *Abdar* or water cooler,—the *Musalchis* or flame bearers, whose business was to run with flaming torches before the carriage when returning from the drive at dusk. To follow the palanqueen, a set of bearers were necessary for every person,—the *hoo-kah-burdar* to dress the pipe and attend while his master smoked it,—the *Chubdar* or mace bearer *i. e.* *Chapdhar*, keeper of the peace, with his emblem, a long staff plated with silver, to deliver messages. Sometimes four were in attendance, but every man in Calcutta of consequence must have one. The Dutch Director at Chinsurah was allowed six, but the next to him only two. The Dutch were so particular about this mark of dignity that only the Governor of Chinsurah was allowed to have the mace all of silver; the other functionaries were to have them plated. The late Bishop Wilson was one of the last Europeans who employed a Chubdar. There was one inferior to him, the *Sontaburdar*, who bore only a baton. The bearers of that day dressed and undressed their masters; the Europeans having such a horror of the climate as to think every exertion injurious, like various ladies in Chowringhee now, who though in health, are so lazy as to require being carried up-stairs by their servants. The *Uriah Bearers* were an old class in Calcutta; as in former days palkis were chiefly used. We find from a computation made in 1776, they carried three lakhs of rupees yearly to their own country made by their business.

Another servant of the olden time, gradually disappearing, is the Portuguese ayah, of whom Captain Williamson thus states:—

"Many Portuguese ayahs affect to be in possession of genealogies, whereby it should appear they are lineally descended from most illustrious characters; most of whom would, no doubt, be indeed abashed, could they now take a peep at their ill-fated and degenerated posterity. It is scarcely to be conceived how much pride is retained by women of this class; they are fond of adulation and love the dear word 'Signora,' even to adoration. To see one of them full dressed on Christmas day is truly diverting, their costume being, as nearly as circumstances will admit, that of the days of royalty in France with a dash of the antique Vera Cruz: to remind them, I suppose, of that eclipse which a gradual intermixture with the natives, has cast upon their once tawny, but now sable countenances. One would think, that the humiliating reflections attendant upon such a comparison, should prompt them to burn their pedigrees, and to avoid whatever could induce to retrospection! But, no, the ayah prides herself on that remote affinity, to which her records give the claim; she retains all the offensive hauteur of her progenitors, which, being grafted upon the most obnoxious qualities of the Hindoo or Mussulman, characters, makes a *tout ensemble* as ridiculous as it is despicable!"

Calcutta last century was the scene of the triumph of caste and superstition. Naked fakirs paraded the streets—the *Aghori* could be seen eating the flesh of dead men at the ghats—holy water in which a Brahmin's feet had been washed was highly treasured as a drink—suttee fires blazed in the neighbourhood, as late as 1800, within a space of 30 miles round Calcutta, and in six months of that year 275 women were burnt. Brahmini bulls, fearless of the police, roamed at large to the annoyance of palki-bearers and confectioners. Human sacrifices could occasionally be witnessed at Kali Ghat. The monkey however, so troublesome at Benares, was not so here, though it is recorded of the Rajah of Bisenpur, the Rajah of last century, that "he requested 'a guard of sepoy to destroy them, though against his religion, 'which holds the transmigration of souls, to do it himself. They 'would come into his house, and carry the meat off the table, and 'steal whatever they could find. They often terrify the girls, 'assembling round them if alone, making the most odious noises."

As an illustration of the power of superstition the following is the relation of an occurrence which took place in 1670:—The English had at this time a factory at Batacola (a sea port next to the southward of Onore) when a ship came to lade, the Captain of which had a fine English bull dog, which he presented to the chief of the factory. After the ship was gone the factory, which consisted of 18 persons, were going a hunting and

carried the bull dog with them, and passing through the town, the dog seized a cow devoted to a Pagod and killed her. Upon this the priests raised a mob, who murdered the whole factory; but some natives who were friends to the English, made a large grave and buried them all in it. The chief of Carwar sent a stone to be put on the grave with this inscription. 'This is the burial place of John Best and seventeen other Englishmen who were sacrificed to the fury of a mad priesthood and an enraged mob.' The English did not renew their factory there.

The practice of Dhirna, or a Brahman in order to extort money or secure a demand sitting opposite a house until it was complied with, the Brahman meanwhile fasting as also the person against whom the demand was made, was very common at Benares, but it occurred occasionally in Calcutta. Mrs. Fay states. "A Hindu beggar of the Brahman caste went to the house of a very rich man, but of an inferior tribe, requesting alms, he was either rejected, or considered himself inadequately relieved and refused to quit the place. As his lying before the door and obstructing the passage was unpleasant, one of the servants first intreated, then insisted on his retiring and in speaking pushed him gently away; he chose to call this push a blow, and cried aloud for redress, declaring that he would never stir from the spot till he had obtained justice against the man, who now endeavoured to soothe him but in vain. Like a true Hindoo he sat down, and never moved again, but thirty-eight hours afterwards expired, demanding justice with his last breath; being well aware that in the event of this the master would have an enormous fine to pay—which happened accordingly."

The Mussulmans of Calcutta though adopting various Hindoo practices, have never amalgamated with the Hindoos. They seem to retain towards them, the views of Timur who said—"The Hindoo has nothing of humanity but the figure. Ambition characterised the Moslem here last century as much as avarice did the Gentoo, but the days are gone for ever when a Mussulman like the Foudar of Hooghly had 6000 Rs. monthly salary and when the korah or whip was hung up in every Mofussil Court for the Mussulman officials to flagellate the Hindus. In 1804 the Mulins of Calcutta memorialised the Marquis of Wellesley because a thesis was proposed at Fort William College 'on the utility of translations into the vernacular of works on different religions.' But they are in the sere and yellow leaf and even Tippu was obliged to employ Hindoos in the revenue as he lost so much by the ignorance of Moslem revenue officers."

We might make many other observations on Calcutta in the

Olden Time—its Greek, Armenian and Jewish inhabitants—its French and Dutch neighbours—its river ever changing its course and fraught with reminiscences of the past. But the length to which we have already extended this article forbids our saying more.

ART. VII.—*Memoirs of Major General Sir Henry Havelock, K. C. B.* By JOHN CLARK MARSHMAN. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts. 1860.

As, gliding down the stream of the tranquil present, we look back upon the tumultuous past; as we recall the excitements, the terrors, the atrocities of 1857, it is impossible to feel insensible to that wonderful dispensation of Providence which, when the danger was highest, when the career of triumphant rebellion was as yet unchecked, at least in the Central provinces, when our own resources were at the lowest, brought to the scene of action from another and a distant part of Asia, a Man suited to that dread Hour, whose strong character pitted against hordes of conscienceless traitors, sufficed to restore victory to our standards, and to re-establish the prestige not lost in fair fight but stolen after foul murder, of the British arms. How this was accomplished, how by the determined energy of this man the tide of rebellion was first turned, must be fresh in the memory of all. If we allude now to the subject, it is because we would wish to dwell for a moment on the character of the chief actor in that part of the great Drama, and to ascertain by what mental training, through what amount of practical experience his natural powers had been so moulded as to attain so brilliant a development.

A shy, contemplative, but strong-willed boy, Henry Havelock had been educated for the bar. Circumstances however which he could not control, but which in their immediate result were opposed to his wishes, changed his destination, and at the age of twenty years he entered the army. He entered it at a period when England had had but five years' experience of that peace which was destined to remain unbroken till 1853. The signs of its probable continuance however were even then plenteous, and Havelock, dreading the career the most fatal of all others to genuine aspirations—that of being a soldier merely in name—turned his thoughts to a country which held out certain promise of becoming at no distant period the theatre of great events. Of all the possessions and dependencies of England, India at that time alone offered the inducement of a chance of active service. To noble ambitions, to high hopes, to lofty aspirations she was the land of promise. What wonder then, that Havelock who had mastered the theories of his profession with all the ardour of an enthusiast, who had even then brooded over the achievements of the great Captains of ancient and modern epochs, what wonder that he, left free to choose for

himself, should have selected a career in a country in which, if there were many candidates for honor, there appeared to be at least many chances for the aspirant. The studies to which he had devoted the initiatory years of his military life, the complete theoretical knowledge which he had obtained regarding the actual science of war, his perfect acquaintance with the details of all the famous battles of history, had inspired him with a hope, near akin to confidence, that he too would be able to seize and employ rightly that golden moment, which occurs once always in the life time of all who seek it, but which once missed in most cases vanishes for ever. To India then he made up his mind to proceed, and having so resolved, with a just appreciation of the first difficulties which would meet him in that country, he devoted himself, whilst yet in England, to the acquirement of the native languages. To a mind organised as was his, the sudden transition from Jomini to Gilchrist presented no insurmountable obstacles. The ardour which had prompted him to acquire a complete knowledge of the principles of the one, enabled him to master the peculiarities set before him by the other. His progress therefore was rapid, and the gain real and solid. So much in fact had he advanced in his oriental studies during the few months that preceded his embarkation that he was able during the voyage out to become a teacher in his turn, and to impart to others some of the advantages which he had acquired for himself.

Havelock embarked in the *General Kyd* in January 1823, a Lieutenant in the 13th Light Infantry. The country to which he was proceeding was at that time under the temporary sway of Mr. John Adam, a gentleman who unconsciously and in spite of himself did more to upset the monopoly of the East India Company than any previous or subsequent ruler. The same month that witnessed Havelock's embarkation, witnessed also the departure from India of the Great Marquess who, in the course of a domination extending over nine years, had raised the glory of our arms to the highest pitch, and had placed upon the firmest basis the material prosperity of the empire. Like others who succeeded him he sailed from India in the full belief that he had left to his successor a legacy of peace; unlike those others, he did leave him an elastic revenue, and a treasury full even to overflowing—a source of strength and power to the strong—an irresistible temptation to the weak.

Havelock reached Calcutta in May of the same year. Within two months of his arrival Mr. Adam, whose tenure of office had resulted from the purely accidental circumstance of his being at the time of Lord Hastings' departure senior member of Council,

was succeeded by Earl Amherst—not however before the occurrence on our eastern frontier of certain manifestations, which laid the foundations of future warfare.

It is not necessary to refer here to the particular causes which brought about actual hostilities with the Burman empire. From the moment that barbarism, till then victorious and uncontrolled, came into contact with European civilisation, the result was inevitable. Commencing in the first instance with an actual attack on our possessions, the court of Ava regarded the gentle remonstrances of the Indian Government as sure signs of conscious weakness. To such an extent did their conceit increase that it became absolutely necessary for the security of our own territories to give to their monarch a convincing proof that, however great might be his superiority to the rude tribes that surrounded him, he was yet unequal to the task of dictating terms to an English Government. In consequence of this necessity, and in pursuance of that wise principle of warfare of which Hannibal may be considered the most brilliant exemplar, Lord Amherst resolved in the early part of 1824 to transport a sufficient force under an experienced General to a part of the enemy's coast, which was at once the most vulnerable and which at the same time might possess the advantage of communicating most easily with the capital. It was confidently believed that a march on Ava, entailing as it necessarily must, more than one encounter between the hostile forces, would suffice to bring the enemy to reason, and to lower the arrogant spirit which had tempted him to invade our possessions. Two divisions from Madras and Calcutta were accordingly organised, and these, leaving their presidencies in the months of April and May 1824, united at the Andamans on the 5th of the last named month, and proceeded at once under the command of Sir Archibald Campbell to Rangoon.

At the time that the Bengal division of this force was organised, Havelock had not completed twelve months' service in India. Occupying the position during this period of a Subaltern of the corps which garrisoned Fort William, no work beyond the mere routine of regimental duty had been assigned him. He had however distinguished himself in a manner, which does not always commend the performer to the favorable notice of the authorities. With all the fervor of his nature he had devoted himself to the study and practice of religion, and not content with that, he had endeavoured to extend amongst his own soldiers the knowledge of the truths which he had found so precious. He became known in the Regiment as a pious, earnest, and at the same time a most zealous

lous and devoted officer. Fortunately for his worldly prospects this knowledge was not confined to his regiment. Thus it happened that at the time when the Burmese expedition was being organised, and when enquiries were being made regarding smart intelligent officers to fill the more subordinate positions on the general staff, the name of Havelock was brought to the notice of those in whose hands lay the dispensation of patronage, and he was appointed Deputy Assistant Adjutant General of the expedition.

The war which was at that period undertaken, proved in a military and scientific point of view, the least interesting of all in which the Indian Government has been engaged. Combatting in swamps, opposed to an enemy who never fought but behind stockades, and then generally fought badly, a prey to the ravages of a pestilential atmosphere, our troops were merely called upon to display that courage and that endurance which are so peculiarly their own. There was no call for the manifestation of the manœuvring capabilities of our commanders. To move straight on, to attack the enemy wherever he could be found, and to follow up with promptitude every advantage gained in the field—these were the conditions on which to bring the war to a successful issue. To a soldier nevertheless, thoroughly acquainted with the details of European conflicts, versed in that strategic science which prompted the operations of Marlborough and Eugene in their campaigns against the tried Marshals of Louis XIV., of Gustavus against Tilly and Wallenstein, of Frederic against Daun, and of General Bonaparte in 1796, this expedition to Burmah opened a new field. It was here that Havelock first learned, that the success of Europeans combating against Asiatics must depend less upon science than upon dash; that with one good blow, dealt energetically and followed up rapidly, the fate of an empire might be decided. The Burmese campaign it was, that taught him that no troops were more liable to depression, none less inclined to struggle against hostile fortune, none who possessed to an inferior degree the power of rallying *en masse* than Asiatics. To him then, destined as he was to an Indian career, the experience thus gained was invaluable. Grafting it upon his theoretical knowledge, he was able thereafter to plan, devise, and execute schemes calculated for every emergency. The fact that he himself had borne no light part in a campaign that terminated only at the gates of the enemy's capital, that he had been able thus practically to test his theoretical knowledge, and to compare it with the actual measures of his own commander, gave him a confidence in his own judgment, and a proud self-reliance that never after

deserted him. In Burmah were sown the seeds of that strategy that afterwards triumphed at Cawnpore.

The Burmese campaign lasted twenty-one months. Havelock, who arrived just too late for the storming of Rangoon, was yet able to take a prominent part in the operations which succeeded the occupation of that important town. As the year advanced however it was found that sickness was our most dangerous foe. By the end of July more than half the force had become non-effective. Havelock himself was amongst the latter, and to save his life, he was compelled to proceed to Calcutta, and thence by the sea route to Bombay. After an absence of eleven months, during which our army had advanced no higher than Prome, Havelock returned to his duty. He was in time to take a share in the advance which resulted in the defeat of the enemy in three pitched battles, and in the acceptance by the King of the conditions of peace which our Commander-in-Chief had imposed. In these actions, his was naturally a subordinate part, but to a subordinate on the staff, great opportunities of observation are often granted, and Havelock shewed not very long afterwards, that he had allowed none of these to pass unnoticed.

For nearly thirteen years after the treaty of Yandaboo, India remained at peace, and not a single opportunity was afforded Havelock of practically testing his acquirements in the field. With an ill-fortune, which in the present days of high pressure and quick promotion would be accounted marvellous, he was doomed throughout this period to remain a Lieutenant. He was not however altogether unemployed. As Interpreter to Colonel, afterwards Sir Willoughby, Cotton, one of the Brigadier Generals of the Burman expedition, and then commanding at Cawnpore; as Adjutant of the dépôt of Royal Troops at Chinsurah; as Interpreter to the 16th Foot, and finally as Adjutant of his own Regiment, he found ample opportunities for increasing his own experience, and perfecting himself in that knowledge, the most valuable of all to the soldier and the statesman,—the knowledge of human nature. In his two appointments as Adjutant, first to the dépôt and afterwards to his regiment, the moving springs of human action were constantly open to his inspection. It was probably during this period of probation that he acquired that experience in the art of managing men's minds, of appealing to their hearts, of directing their instincts to a particular point, which he afterwards put in practice with so much effect. Religious as he was, and ever anxious to increase the number of those who cared for their eternal welfare, he could not but have perceived, that even on the scoffer and the profane it was possible to exercise a strong moral

influence. There is probably no class of men more quick-witted, more imbued with a sense of their own rights or more jealous of maintaining them than the private soldiers: no men, at the same time oftener subject themselves to the sway of passions incidental to fallen man. To manage such men, to direct their energies to a useful and a noble end, mere theories are valueless. It is necessary that each move in the lower organisation should be checked, and if possible exalted, by corresponding and answering movement on the part of a more commanding mind. For this purpose, knowledge acquired by actual experience, imbibed, as it were, by mixing heartily with the men, by seeing their natures open before one, is the first requisite. None are more sensitive on this point than the men themselves. Their spirits spurn the control which is measured out by rule, and which, applied therefore without any consideration of the varying attributes of humanity, must often act unjustly. It is when their natures are in the presence of another nature, not only superior to theirs, but intimately acquainted with its component parts, yet partaking of the higher and the better portion of those parts, and at the same time sympathizing with the whole, that their minds swayed by the magnetic influence, yield themselves entirely to its control. That Havelock penetrated to the very depths of this great mystery may perhaps be doubted. There have been warriors, famous in history, who have acquired a greater insight into the secret springs of human actions, and who have gained consequently a greater influence and control over their men. But his after career proved nevertheless that his knowledge of mankind, and his power of directing the instincts of the soldier, were very great indeed. The manner in which he shewed this knowledge will be spoken of in its proper place: it is alluded to here, because it was at the period of which we are now treating that that experience must have been acquired.

But there were seasons during those thirteen years of peace when Havelock was not brought into such close contact with his men. There were years when he was forced to be content with the mere performance of the duties of a subaltern with his regiment. Then it was that his active mind went in search of other occupations, and searching earnestly, soon lighted upon a congenial theme. We have before alluded to the opportunities which presented themselves to him during his campaign in Burmah of criticising the manœuvres of his commanders. These had appeared to him to be, in many instances, opposed to those principles of war, on which the greatest Generals of ancient and modern times, had invariably sought to act. Their erratic courses,

as he supposed them to be, he had noted down at the time, and it appeared to him in his moments of leisure, that it might be useful to his profession, and profitable to himself, to give to the world a critical history of the entire campaign. He had scarcely however entered upon his work when the idea occurred to him that it might possibly be considered presumption and more than presumption on his part, thus to criticise his superiors. Yet only a Subaltern, his right to pass in review, and to animadvert upon the movements of full blown Generals, would almost certainly be called in question. Writing at all, he would be compelled to write the whole truth, and would that be palatable? These were startling questions; especially startling were they to a soldier dependent on his profession for support, and looking to it as the sole ladder by which he could advance to distinction. We know from the memoirs published of him by his brother-in-law, that he debated the matter long and carefully with himself. "I am half afraid" he says in one of his letters to Serampore "of the storm of hostility which the free discussion of recent events might draw upon a subordinate officer. Men of years and rank are so unwilling ever to be proved in the wrong; and I cannot, in common honesty, attempt to show that in 1824-25, and '26 they were always in the right." Again "were the manuscript carried in *statu quo* to the press, it is not impossible that I might find my name omitted in the army list of some subsequent month for having presumed to think that a Brigadier-General can do wrong." These extracts prove that even when sending his manuscript to the press Havelock was not free from doubt as to the manner in which the publication might affect his own prospects. With the knowledge which we possess of his conscientiousness, of his rigid morality, of his strong views regarding right and wrong, of the manner in which he would have clung to the one and spurned the other, we have a right to believe that in deciding to publish, Havelock pursued the course which after deep and earnest consideration he felt himself called upon to undertake. Possessing a knowledge not shared in by the world at large, enabled by his reading, by his practical ability, to point out errors, which to be avoided in future it was necessary to illustrate with peculiar reference to this particular expedition, was he, on account of purely personal considerations, for fear of injuring his own prospects, to be absolutely dumb? To be silent, he must have felt, was to be criminal. Balancing then the criminality of silence against the "imprudence" of publication, Havelock felt it impossible to falter. Not careless then of consequences, but confident in the purity

of his motives, believing that his criticism was just, that his conclusions would bear the strictest examination, he published. Written in a manly and classical style, outspoken in its remarks on the execution of the campaign, awarding with an impartial hand blame and praise, the work appeared at the Serampore press in 1828, two years after the conclusion of the war of which it treated. It was most unfortunate that it had not been published in England. An Indian work never has a fair chance. It may be a prejudice, but it is a fact, that even the Indian public look upon the name of the English publisher as a guarantee to a certain extent of the value of the work. They look forward also before they buy, unless they are by chance acquainted with the author, to the criticisms of the English press. Deprived of these advantages, printed too on inferior paper, and with inferior type, an Indian book scarcely makes a fair start. It has happened that when subsequent events have recalled public interest to the subject on which it treated, a work originally published in India has reappeared in an English dress. But this is a rare occurrence; it almost always happens that the work published in India is discredited on account of its Indian imprint, and enjoys consequently but a limited circulation.

It is on no other grounds that we can account for the failure, as a literary speculation, of Havelock's 'Campaigns in Ava.' The style in which it was written, the professional acumen displayed in the criticisms, and the general interest of the narrative, were sufficient under ordinary circumstances to attract to it a large amount of public support. Published in England, it must have commanded attention, but an offspring of Serampore it never surmounted the ineradicable blot of its nativity. In India therefore its circulation was limited, whilst in England it became known to but a select few. It did happen however to find its way to the Horse Guards, and in that hallowed region its boldness, as might have been expected, found no favor. 'Is he tired of his commission?' was the question asked of the elder brother of the author, when he presented himself within those sacred precincts. No active persecution however followed this remark, although we are informed by his brother-in-law, that the book made him many enemies.

We might pause here for an instant to enquire with his biographer, how it happened that with the evidence of professional knowledge displayed in this work before them, the Government of India left the subaltern author to pine in neglect. Was it because they thought that soldiers ought to remain mere instruments, without feelings and without passions, debarred from the exercise of every intellectual faculty, and that they re-

garded as little less than a crime, this effort on the part of Havelock to vindicate his claim to a position in the world of responsible humanity? Did they consider that the duties of an officer should be confined to a punctual attendance at drills and parades, and to the necessity never to appear drunk on duty, and did they wish to repress every effort on his part to exercise his brain for the performance of the higher duties of his profession—an exercise which in times of peace can best be promoted by a critical study of past campaigns? These are no light questions, for they affect the present even more than the past. Let us examine for a moment the circumstances of Havelock's case. Here was a man, who had instructed himself thoroughly in the science of war, who enjoyed the highest character as an officer, and in whom there lay, dormant at that time and waiting for an occasion, very high military powers. Impelled by an imperative sense of duty, by a conscientious resolve to do what was right in spite of consequences, he publishes a work to the excellence of which, he subsequently recorded, three Commanders-in-Chief bore their testimony. Yet although that book was rich in military lore, although it contained instruction of the most valuable nature, because, in the course of its truthful narrative, it trenched upon the vanity of a few high officials, the writer was allowed to linger in obscurity. The abilities which were conspicuous in every page of the book, the talents which the Government might themselves have directed to some great purpose, were restricted to the performance of trifling duties, and for nine years afterwards, the Havelock of 1828, who possessed within himself all the powers and more than the vigour of the Havelock of 1857, was deemed doubly rewarded in being allowed to remain unmolested on account of his opinions, a hardworking subaltern. One of the most touching pictures, in the history of France immediately prior to the Revolution, presents to our eyes Dumouriez pacing the streets of Paris, conscious of his abilities for command, but conscious also that his plebeian birth deprived him of every chance of the attainment of his desires. But how infinitely more affecting were the circumstances of Havelock's position! He too was conscious of the possession of great abilities, and yet he had the mortification to find that he was restricted to the duties of a subaltern, because, in the only manner in which as a conscientious officer he could perform the task, he had written a work in which those abilities were made known to the Government he served.

After long delays however, and three failures to obtain his company by purchase, promotion came at last. In 1838 Have-

lock was able to write Captain before his name, and by a strange coincidence the same year witnessed also the abandonment of that peaceful policy which, without interruption, had been fostered by the Indian Government ever since the peace of Yandaboo. It was in December of that year that the expedition to Affghanistan, which had formed the great theme of discussion in every station in India for twelve months preceding, was actually entered upon. On the 10th of that month the Bengal Division of the British forces, under the command of Sir Willoughby Cotton, commenced its march for an object, which, for disregard of all moral obligation, as well as for political unsoundness, is unequalled by any recorded in the history of the British nation. Decided upon originally for the purpose of compelling the Persian Army to raise the siege of Herat, it might have been supposed that with the accomplishment of that design, all necessity for the further progress of the expedition would have ceased. The Persian Army, thanks to the gallantry of an English officer who accidentally found himself in the place, had been forced to retire from before Herat on the 9th September 1838, three months before a single British soldier had left our territories. The original object of the expedition had thus been accomplished, without the expenditure of a single drop of English blood, or an ounce of English treasure. Nevertheless, so bent were those who directed the counsels of the Indian Government on making a grand demonstration in Central Asia, so terrified were they at the bugbear of Russian aggrandisement, then distantly looming in the future, that losing sight of those greater dangers nearer their own possessions—dangers which in a cooler moment would have been obvious to none more than to themselves,—they resolved, at the cost of an immense expenditure of money, in defiance of right, and at great military risk, still to send on an army for the purpose of expelling the energetic sovereign who was all the time well disposed to fall in with our views regarding Persia, and to replace him by an imbecile *fainéant* whose weakness had rendered him contemptible in Affghan eyes. So extraordinary was the excitement that reigned amongst the governing classes at the time, that they did not perceive either the foolishness or the immorality of the course which they had resolved to pursue. The advance into Affghanistan was heralded by those high sounding phrases and lofty professions which those who have at their disposal numerous battalions know so well how to employ. These phrases and these professions produced an effect at which men of the present day, with their experience of thirty subsequent years, may well be surprised. In 1838 however, belief in the character of pub-

lic men was not wholly extinguished, and certainly the greater number of those who started from Ferozepore on that 10th December, started in the belief that they were about to restore a legitimate sovereign to his throne, and to give an effectual check to the ambition and to the encroachments of Russia. It would appear that Havelock entertained some such opinion at the outset. Certain it is that he hailed the prospect of service which the offer of an Aide-de-Camp-ship on Sir Willoughby Cotton's staff opened out to him. It was a position most favorable for one whose active mind would not permit him to be a mere instrument of authority, but who judged every movement by the standard set up by those great Captains, the history of whose achievements was stored in his mind. Throughout that long march from Ferozepore through the Bolan Pass to Candahar, he must often have mused on the fact that on the fidelity to his engagements of the ruler of the Punjab, depended the safety of our force. We had no base of operations; our army was separated from its resources; on our right and our right rear lay the army of Runjeet Singh, splendidly organized, flushed with victory over the Affghans, and ready to obey his nod. The further we proceeded, the more isolated, the more dangerous became our position, and to the chances arising from that position were added the barren nature of the country, and the necessity which existed of carrying our supplies with us. As we read the account of that campaign, every page increases our astonishment that a British Army should ever have been sent on such an expedition, and for such a purpose.

It is not our purpose to follow the expedition step by step on its onward course. Its details are well-known to all readers of Indian history. The part played by Havelock, as Aide-de-Camp on the staff of a General of Division, was necessarily limited. He was able nevertheless to improve his experience in matters which it is beyond the power of mere book-learning to impart. He it was who, after the junction at Candahar by the Bombay division, and the assumption by Sir John Keane of the chief command, strongly urged that the siege train, which had been conveyed thus far at the cost of much trouble, should be taken on to be used against Ghuznee. His advice was, on the representations of the "politicals," disregarded, and in consequence, the army found itself some weeks later in front of a fortress, the defences of which could only be breached by heavy artillery. It is true that the combined daring and ingenuity of Captains Thomson and Durand of the Bengal Engineers rescued Sir John Keane from his false position, but the circumstance made an ineradicable impression on the mind of Havelock, and materially

influenced his own operations at a later period. Never to attack fortified places without artillery, and to be himself 'political' as well as General, ranked thereafter amongst his best conned maxims. It was in this campaign also that the impressions which he had imbibed in Burmah, as to the advisability of losing no opportunity of attacking an Asiatic enemy in the field, with but small regard to his superior numbers, and his convictions likewise as to the enormous advantages to be derived from following up rapidly even the most trifling victory, received fresh confirmation. Havelock accompanied the force in its triumphant progress to Cabool, but finding, shortly after his arrival there, that the puppet king whom we had placed on the throne by our bayonets, could only be supported by the same means, and that our occupation of Affghanistan might be prolonged indefinitely, he resisted all the offers of Sir Willoughby Cotton, and resolved to return speedily to India. He was prompted to this determination chiefly by a wish to publish an account of the campaign, before the interest excited by it had entirely evaporated. For a task of this nature he was peculiarly well qualified. He had not only taken notes of his own, but he had possessed the entire confidence of Sir Willoughby Cotton, and had obtained from the Commander-in-Chief free access to all the records in his office. He naturally imagined that a work at once accurate, interesting, and professional could not fail to find many readers, and although he wrote at the time that he considered himself "too old for fame," he might nevertheless have pictured to himself that such a work, if well performed, would convince those, in whose hands lay the power of advancing deserving officers, that he at least had mastered the higher branches of his profession. He was doomed however, on this occasion, as on the former, to bitter disappointment. The work, although lucid in arrangement, forcible in style, and vivid in description, although too it had the advantage of an English publisher, fell still-born from the press. This result may perhaps be partly attributable to the intense excitement which prevailed in England at that time, (1839-40) on account of the movements of the Chartists. The "battle of Newport," so fatal to the pretensions of Messrs. Frost, Williams, and Jones, presented a problem of far deeper moment to the politicians of England than the history of the taking of Ghuznee. Then again the march to Cabool, though teeming with hardships to the soldiers, was, for a campaign, singularly barren of fighting results. The successful assault on Ghuznee, was, in a military point of view, its solitary triumph. It is probable therefore, that the general public, unacquainted

with the locality, ignorant of the dangers *in posse* and the privations *in esse*, saw only that we had reached Cabool without a battle, and imagined that it was almost unnecessary to acquaint themselves with the details of such an expedition to a greater extent than could be ascertained from the despatches. Had there been a few more casualties, and a fair proportion of stirring adventures the history would probably have been more favorably received.

It may not be out of place here to state the matured opinion of Havelock, written in after years, on the subject of the publication by an officer of his own experiences on service and elsewhere. Even in the year 1860 the opinion on this subject of one of the most real and practical soldiers that ever lived, may not be altogether unworthy of consideration. The passage as recorded by his biographer, is too long to be extracted in its entirety. We cull however that portion of it which may be considered general in its application. "Our institutions and ' public opinion secure to us the liberty of printing ; and common sense unawed by a few who have not kept pace with ' their age, recognises in the nineteenth century the perfect compatibility of the most implicit obedience in the ranks and in ' the field, with thorough independence of spirit in the republic ' of letters. Contemporary memoirs are the means of which the ' future historian gladly avails himself, or of which he bitterly ' laments the want, when he comes to trace with an impartial ' hand the picture of events which have influenced the happiness of large portions of the human race."

Although Havelock was naturally mortified by the ill-success of a work on which he had bestowed no ordinary labour, his was not a spirit to cast down by any disappointment. Its first result was to determine him to bend his mind more closely to his profession. It happened that, after he had rid himself of the labor of revising and despatching his work, he was directed to proceed to Cabool with recruits. Arriving in the course of his journey at Ferozepore, he fell in with General Elphinstone, then lately appointed to the command of our troops in Affghanistan. By him he has offered the post of Persian Interpreter on his staff. This he accepted, and it was in that capacity that in February 1841, after an absence of fifteen months, he found himself once more in Cabool.

It was on the occasion of this, his second residence in Affghanistan, that the nature of Havelock's qualities was destined to the severest trial. The weakness of our political agent, and the incapacity of our military commander, contributed even more than the treachery of the aristocracy of Cabool, to bring

about the greatest disaster that has ever befallen British arms. It was not so much, as Havelock remarked with astonishment on his arrival, that the position which should have been occupied as a fort had been given up to the purposes of a seraglio; it was a vicious but not a fatal arrangement that located our soldiers in a cantonment commanded by neighbouring heights, and that placed all the supplies of the army in a detached fort. These evils, great as they were, would have been remedied by the valour of our troops, if they had had but a commander. But with an old gentleman at the head of the army enfeebled by disease, with an envoy who had trained his intellect to believe that to be true which he wished to be true, and who persisted in spite of the most glaring evidence of bad faith, in giving credence to the assurances of the natives,—with division everywhere, and self-reliance nowhere, it was impossible to effect anything great. There was in fact no command. The measures that had been resolved upon one moment, were cancelled an hour later, and this indecision, commencing in the tent of the General, could not but have a most lamentable effect upon the Army. As if, too, to add to the difficulties of our situation, the most open marks of hostility on the part of the Affghans, served but to induce our leaders to pretend a greater confidence in their good faith. It seems at this distant period almost incredible, that after the slaughter of Sir Alexander Burnes, after the murder of the Envoy in cold blood, after manifestations of hostility too striking to be misconceived, the leaders of that force—a force numbering 5000 men, should still have preferred to trust to Affghan honor rather than to the bayonets of their soldiers. Once having resolved to retire, they should have regarded every Affghan as an enemy, and have trusted to their own energies alone. Instead of this, to use the emphatic language of Havelock “they credulously confided ‘in Affghan faith, moved in the power and at the dictation of ‘Akbar Khan, took up the positions which he pointed out, ‘forbore to fire on the partisans whom he had arrayed to destroy them; and as much to the last the dupes of intrigue and ‘treachery as the victims of the sword, cold, hunger and ‘fatigue, were engulfed in the eastern Gilzye mountains.” Surely, if history be indeed philosophy teaching by example, the details of this terrible disaster ought to have served as a warning to the men that were to come after. The tale told by it of the folly, the incredible folly, of trusting to the oaths of Asiatics, of placing ourselves with respect to them in a suppliant and inferior position, ought to have rendered impossible any similar infatuation in future. Yet only sixteen years later, the

events of the mutiny too clearly shewed, that in many instances the warning of Asiatic duplicity had been vouchsafed in vain, though, unfortunately for us, the recollections of European credulity had been eagerly treasured up and remembered.

In the movements of the Cabool force Havelock was not a sharer. Although on the staff of the General he had obtained permission to join his regiment, the 13th Light Infantry. This regiment, under the command of gallant Sale, had been ordered in the month of October 1841 to the assistance of the 35th N. I., upon which an attack had been made in the passes near Cabool. The nature of the conflict in which the two corps were engaged on the following day, made it clear to those who took part in it that the whole country was in arms against the British. General Sale indeed found that it would be impossible for him to move forward to Gundamuck—the destination assigned him by the General in command—unless reinforcements were promptly furnished. He selected Havelock to carry the despatches in which he stated his necessities on this head, and it was probably owing in a great measure to his influence, that within a week not only were reinforcements provided, but plentiful supplies were sent with them. Havelock again obtained permission to rejoin General Sale's Brigade, which the authorities at Cabool, lulled by their reliance on Affghan promises, considered at that time the post of danger.

For the eighteen days that followed, the force was in continual conflict. Harassed on all sides, attacked sometimes in front, oftener on the flanks and rear, the brigade, encumbered as it was with baggage, could only with difficulty push forward. It had been Havelock's wish after the second march, when it had been resolved, in accordance with instructions from Cabool, to send back one of the native regiments, to return with it in order to resume his appointment on the staff of General Elphinstone. This he considered to be his post of duty, and he was, at the moment, the less tempted to swerve from it, because the Gilzyes had but just before agreed to an accommodation, for the due performance of which they had furnished hostages. General Sale however could not patiently endure the idea of allowing Havelock to leave him. He had himself been wounded on the previous day, and he felt therefore more than ever all the responsibilities of his position. With Havelock he had been associated for many years, and he had had opportunities of witnessing how fitted he was to cope with a crisis. He therefore pointed out to him that in his opinion it was his duty to continue with the force, and finally took all the responsibility of his compliance on his own shoulders. Havelock obeyed, and from that moment

became one of the most confidential advisers of the General. He it was who, in conjunction with Captains Macgregor, Backhouse, Broadfoot and Davies—four names famous in the history of that eventful period, persuaded the General to attack the fort of Mamookhail, the possession of which secured the safety of the advance from Gundamuck to Jellalabad. He it was who, when a Council of War was held at Gundamuck to debate as to the nature of the movements that ought to follow the receipt of the first disastrous accounts from Cabool, threw all the weight of his influence in support of the march on Jellalabad, on the solid ground, that there at all events they would occupy a position that could be held until reinforcements should reach them from India. He it was who, after the arrival of the force at that place, resisted with all his energy the proposal to give up the town and to retire within the citadel. He it was who, by the influence inspired by his character, by his sound judgment, far seeing sagacity, and knowledge of soldiers, contributed as much as any single individual could contribute, to the successful defence of the illustrious garrison. If his labors were not so "pronounced" as those of George Broadfoot, it was because he occupied a far less prominent position than that most distinguished officer. It is yet a striking fact that it was to Havelock that Broadfoot ever looked for moral support during the sittings of those Councils of War, in which he advocated, often alone, a determined policy, and it was owing to that support, always accorded, that the resolution to resist to the last was finally decided upon. It was due to these two men, that when the hopes of the garrison were most gloomy, when the Government of India expressed only a desire to withdraw as much as possible from the affairs of Affghanistan, and when the news of the destruction of the Cabool force had caused unusual depression in the minds of all—it was due, we say, to these two men, that another treaty was not entered into with the Affghans, the expressed object of which was the withdrawal of the British troops from Jellalabad. The Council of War had in fact decided in favour of the measure, and had noticed their acceptance of the propositions to the ruler of Cabool. Fortunately for the garrison, the Affghans would not credit their good fortune, and sent to propose fresh stipulations. But before these could arrive, the exertions of Broadfoot and Havelock had worked an immense change in the minds of the garrison, and it was then finally resolved to dismiss diplomacy to the winds, and if necessary to perish where they stood.

It would be foreign to the purpose of this article to enter into a detail of the daily events of that illustrious defence. En-

tering Jellalabad on the 12th November, the force under the command of General Sale, in spite of its original want of defences, in spite of deficiencies of supplies, in spite of enemies without and traitors within its walls, maintained their position until the arrival of the relieving Army of General Pollock on the 13th April following. Throughout this period Havelock served on the staff of the General in command, and he enjoyed therefore the peculiar advantage of being acquainted with the reasons which guided the decisions of his chief. Of the influence which he was able to bring to bear on those decisions we have already spoken. His views were directed not only to the maintenance of our position at Jellalabad to the last extremity, but to impressing on the minds of others the vital importance of seizing every opportunity to meet the enemy in the field. His experience of men, combined with his knowledge of the art of war, to make his opinion especially valuable on this point. It was not only that he was animated by the conviction that under no circumstances could Asiatic troops resist a charge of Europeans in the open field, but he was profoundly impressed with a sense of the effect which constant inaction must produce on the minds of the garrison. These feelings reached their full intensity when, on the final repulse of the Affghan force under Akbar Khan from the walls of Jellalabad on the 10th March, that prince took up a position within two miles of the town, and commanding all the approaches to it. Then it was that Havelock scented the opportunity of making an attempt warranted by every rule of war, and conformable to sound policy. The defeat of the Affghans, the benefit to the '*morale*' of the soldier, and the raising of the blockade,—these were the points, for which, the immediate prospect of relief being even then uncertain, it was surely desirable to strike a blow. When, after some discussion, General Sale determined to make the attempt, with a confidence which testified to his opinion, he gave the command of one of the divisions to his most importunate adviser. On this, the first occasion of his holding a responsible command in the field, Havelock gave proof of the possession of high military ability. The right wing under his orders had been directed to lead the attack, and penetrating if possible between the enemy's advanced position and the river on which it rested, to drive away his skirmishers, and then, combining with the two other divisions, to pierce his centre. Havelock performed his part to admiration; seizing the line of the river, he drove the enemy's skirmishers before him, and pushed on in the preconcerted direction. All at once, however, the centre column under Colonel Dennie was diverted to another part of the field, and

Havelock found himself exposed without warning to the brunt of the enemy's attack. Having received instructions from the General at the same time to halt, he drew up his men partly behind a wall and partly in square, and awaited the attack of the enemy's cavalry. These came on with great determination, and Havelock's horse rearing at the moment, he lost his seat and was only saved from death by a sapper and two men of the 13th who rushed forward to rescue him. The enemy in the interval failing to make an impression on the square, and being exposed to a galling fire from the men posted behind the wall, drew off in some confusion, and Havelock, observing almost immediately that the other columns were proceeding to his support, gave the signal to advance. Scarcely however had his men got well away from the protection of the wall, than the Affghan horse wheeling round came down upon them like an avalanche. Attacked this time in the open, Havelock formed his men into a square, and directing them to reserve their fire, he awaited the charge. Made more feebly than on the first occasion, it was even more unsuccessful, and Havelock instantly re-forming his men, completed the confusion of the enemy by pursuing him into his camp and capturing two guns. At this point the other columns came up, the camp was stormed on all sides, and the victory was complete.

How, nine days after this well won fight—a fight which left the garrison of Jellalabad without an enemy within their reach—the avenging army of General Pollock arrived; how for four months longer the united forces remained in the valley of Jellalabad, waiting for the co-operation of General Nott on the other side of Cabool—how then, owing to the wise resolution of Lord Ellenborough, the army advanced, and triumphing on its route at Jugdulluk and Tezeen, entered Cabool flushed with the glow of victory; how our countrywomen were rescued from captivity, how that portion of Cabool which witnessed the treacherous murder of our Envoy was destroyed, and how the enemy were utterly dispersed at Istaliff—an action planned by Havelock in the capacity of Deputy Adjutant General to General McCaskill; how finally the united armies of Nott and Pollock, satiated with victory and sustained by the ennobling idea that they had restored the *prestige* of England in those distant regions, returned in the cold weather of 1842 to Hindoostan, and were met at Ferozepore by the grandest of India's Governors General—one who possessed in its greatest perfection the power of influencing men's minds—and how finally the troops—their leaders rewarded—were dispersed to their peaceful cantonments, are matters which History has recorded. Hitherto however, History, in dealing

with one of the subjects above alluded to—the rewards dealt out to those who most greatly distinguished themselves—has omitted all allusion to Havelock. Had she spoken, it would have been but to record that he was left unnoticed in the ruck. In the heat of popular enthusiasm, the merit of the great deeds accomplished was awarded to those under whose authority they had been carried out. Thus it was that Havelock, conscious of deserving, and yet too modest to claim that which was his due, was allowed, as a reward for his meritorious services, to proceed once more to the dull routine of Regimental duty. He was informed confidentially by a friend—his tried comrade Major Broadfoot—that there existed *prejudices* against him. So true is it that even in these more liberal days, a man of really independent spirit finds in the very qualities which constitute his greatness, the most stubborn obstacle to his fortune!

Such merits as his however could not long remain unnoticed. In the course of time those who had been prejudiced against him disappeared from the scene, and in 1843 he found himself simultaneously Major of his regiment and Persian interpreter to the new Commander-in-Chief, Sir Hugh Gough. He did not long enjoy this new appointment in peace. Recent and constantly recurring *émeutes* in the Punjab had warned Lord Ellenborough that the time was approaching, when he would be compelled to gather together all the resources of the Empire over which he so wisely ruled, for an encounter with the trained and disciplined soldiers of Runjeet Singh. Whilst too he beheld the cloud, as yet scarcely bigger than a man's hand, that was rising steadily in the horizon before him, he was aware also of another tempest, not so dangerous, though more quick in its action, brewing within fifty miles of the capital of the North West Provinces. Both these demonstrations were met by that noble man with the prescience and the spirit of a great statesman. Deeming the Gwalior danger the more pressing, knowing that it would be in the highest degree dangerous to march towards the Sutlej, whilst the hosts of Scindia lay armed and watchful on his flank and rear, he forced that Durbar to an explanation. Finding this unsatisfactory, and penetrating the hostile intentions of the Court, he marched in his army under Sir Hugh Gough, defeated the enemy in two pitched battles, and then, abstaining with a rare magnanimity from annexation, restored the country to its legitimate sovereign, having first reorganized its Government upon principles which, fifteen years later, produced results which contributed greatly, in the dark hour of our calamity, to the safety of the Anglo-Indian Empire.

In the battle fought at Maharajpore, Havelock, as one of Lord

Gough's staff officers, bore a part as prominent as one in such a position could hope for. In the heat of the action he rallied and inspired with enthusiasm a native regiment—the 56th—against which he was afterwards destined to combat at Cawnpore. He found then that it was as feasible to inspire Asiatics to great deeds of courage, as to induce them, as in Afghanistan, to acts of rare and generous devotion. The appeal that he made to them in the heat of the action, riding in their front, and reminding them that they fought under the eye of their Commander-in-Chief, carried all hearts before it. He remarked afterwards that “whereas it had been difficult to ‘get them forward before, the difficulty now was to restrain ‘their impetuosity.” It is an occasion like this that marks the really great soldier—the man that to perfect acquaintance with his profession adds that still more necessary knowledge—the knowledge how to exert a moving and animating influence over the minds of others.

It is recorded that after the action, standing over the grave of General Churchill, Havelock expressed his regret to Lord Ellenborough that the war had not been a war of subjugation. The same opinion was expressed pretty generally at the time, and the Governor General was blamed for maintaining a rallying point for disaffected spirits. Subsequent events however shewed that had Havelock's ideas on this point been carried out, his victorious career in 1857 would have been impossible, and in all probability the Central and Lower Provinces of India would have been, during that year, overrun by the mutineers. It was the inaction of the troops stationed in Gwalior, that enabled Havelock at a critical moment to maintain his position at Cawnpore—and that inaction, forced upon these troops by their Maharaja—was the offspring of Lord Ellenborough's policy. Two years after the Gwalior episode, the other and greater storm foreseen by Lord Ellenborough, burst with unprecedented fury upon the land. Unfortunately when the crisis came, the steady hand of that great nobleman no longer guided the helm of the state-vessel. He was recalled by men to whom his prescience was a reproach, in spite of the protests of the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel—both of whom appreciated to the highest degree the great qualities which had been evinced throughout Lord Ellenborough's tenure of power. Combined ignorance and nepotism however shrink from the service of unsullied genius; they prefer employing as their agents men whom they can use to their own purposes. Thus it was that when the Sikh war broke out, Lord Ellenborough, who had foreseen it, and who had

busied himself in preparations to meet it, was no longer Governor General. One of the first acts of his successor, Sir H. Hardinge, was to countermand all his preparations, thereby committing the error, then almost fatal, but which notwithstanding has in later years been repeated, of endeavouring to disarm Asiatics by shewing them that we were disarming ourselves. This conduct on our part naturally hurried on the catastrophe it was intended to avert. Without note or warning, taking advantage of our want of preparation, an enormous Sikh Army crossed the Sutlej in the early part of December 1845, and threatened to destroy our troops in detail in their cantonments.

Fortunately for us, the Sikh Army, vast as it was in point of numbers and arrogant in its spirit, able too from the perfection of its equipments and the strength and valor of its soldiery to have carried all before it, was yet a body without a head. There was not a man amongst its commanders able to conceive or to appreciate the immense advantages within its grasp. It is possible that had the inroad of 1845 been made upon a purely Asiatic power, the Chiefs of the Sikh Army would have acted with that confident boldness which had distinguished them in their contests with the Affghans. But this aggression was made upon British territory, and the British arms had still a great reputation. It was this reputation that gave us breathing time; which induced timidity into the Sikh councils, and made them first hesitate and then decline to strike that blow, which would have been of all others most fatal to our prestige. This indecision was further confirmed by the resolute bearing and the heroic determination of the General who commanded at Ferozepore. Although he had only five thousand troops under his orders, of whom less than one-fourth were British, yet no sooner had the Sikh Army, 60,000 strong, crossed the Sutlej and threatened Ferozepore, than Sir John Littler, taking counsel only from his own brave heart, marched out and offered them battle. It was a prudent, wise, and heroic resolve. Ferozepore was not defensible, it was crowded with women and children; to remain in it was to confess weakness, and at the same time to invite attack; to go forth and face the foe was on the other hand to intimate to them that a British General feared no odds, and considered himself with his handful a match for the thousands opposed to him. It was a movement, in fact, inspired by high military genius, and by a consummate knowledge of the Asiatic character. It was as successful as it deserved to be. The Sikh General, scared by the boldness of the British, declined the proffered combat and marched forward in the direction of Delhi. Meanwhile the

Commander-in-Chief had not been idle. No sooner did he hear that the enemy had crossed the Sutlej than from Umballa, from the hill stations, from Meerut and from the lower provinces troops were summoned into the field. The first division of these troops met the enemy, quite accidentally, on the 18th December at Moodkee. A battle without plan or arrangement of any sort ensued, which, without any very decisive issue, resulted in the retirement of the Sikhs to a strong position previously selected at Ferozeshuhur. In this action, Havelock, who acted as a sort of Aide-de-Camp to the Commander-in-Chief, had two horses shot under him. Two days after, both armies having been reinforced, ensued the great battle of Ferozeshuhur, remarkable for the courage of the British troops, for the determination of the enemy, and for the incapacity of his Generals. To use the expression of Havelock, who was by the side of his Chief throughout the two days' contest "India was again saved by a miracle." Six weeks later, a victory having been in the meantime gained by Sir H. Smith at Alliwál, the crowning battle of Sobraon gave the *coup de-grace* to the Sikh Army. Then followed the march upon Lahore, and the treaty which, with the loss of a portion of territory, restored vitality and independence to the Sikh Government.

In an article devoted to Havelock it would have been impossible to pass by without notice three battles in which he was hotly engaged. So closely nevertheless did these battles follow one another, and so devoid were they of anything approaching to tactics or manœuvres, that it need but be recorded that Havelock was present in them, and that he did his duty, as he ever did, most nobly. His situation on Lord Gough's staff had, however, brought him prominently to the notice of the Governor General, and he was not suffered to waste his great capacities in uncongenial appointments much longer. In 1846, on the recommendation of Lord Hardinge, he was appointed Deputy Adjutant General of the Queen's troops at Bombay. By this appointment the certainty of future promotion was secured, at the same time that there was obtained an insight into those paper duties, which are nowhere more onerous, and which nowhere need more to be mastered, than in India.

For nearly three years Havelock continued to perform the duties of the Adjutant General's office at Bombay. They were years of peace and tranquillity, pre-shadowing the tempest that was to follow. In the third year of his appointment that storm burst in the Punjab. Commencing with the murder of Messrs. Agnew and Anderson, it was followed almost instantaneously by the revolt of the Dewan Mool-

raj, by the brilliant achievements of Herbert Edwardes, then more leisurely by the siege of Mooltan, the defection of Shere Singh, the actions at Ramnuggur and Sadoolapore, the day of Chilianwalla, and the "crowning mercy" of Goojrat. Havelock, finding that on the formation of Lord Gough's Army, the 53rd Foot to which he had been removed, had been ordered to the scene of action, obtained permission from the Commander-in-Chief at Bombay to join it. He had not reached Agra however *en route* to the Punjab, when he received a peremptory order from Lord Gough to return to Bombay. This disappointment, bitter though it was, he bore with the fortitude and resignation of a true hero. Instead of finding fault with the Commander-in-Chief, or railing at fortune, he probed his own conduct, and concluded by condemning, himself for having left Bombay without having previously obtained the sanction of Lord Gough. It was this self-command, this freedom from passion, this ability to judge his own conduct as though it were the conduct of another man, that gave to the actions of Havelock a real consistency, and confirmed in no slight degree his influence over those with whom he was brought into contact.

It was in the autumn of the same year that failing health compelled Havelock to return after an absence of twenty-six years to England. He remained there two years, spending his furlough principally in renewing his acquaintance with old school fellows and friends, and subsequently in travelling for his health in Germany. It is a curious fact, that at one period of his leave he was actually contemplating selling out and settling in that country. He dreaded the effect which the Indian climate might have upon his constitution, and he found that a very small income would enable him to educate his family and live even comfortably at one of the large German towns on the Rhine. There was however some difficulty about the income, and after reflection he resolved, fortunately for his fame, to return to Bombay. He did so, and leaving behind him his wife and children, took up his old appointment in December 1851.

In the course of the three years that followed nothing interfered to mar the tranquillity of Havelock's existence. In the second Burmese war, which broke out in 1852, he was not destined to share, though eager himself to join in it. He felt indeed an uncontrollable desire to revisit as a responsible Commander, the scenes of his earliest campaigning, and he made application to Lord Dalhousie to be employed. Before however his letter could reach that nobleman, the preparations for the campaign had been completed, and the appointments filled up.

Promotion however was near at hand to console him for this

disappointment. In 1854 he was made Quarter-Master-General of the Queen's troops, and shortly afterwards received the rank of Brevet Colonel. But he was not to rest there: in 1855 General Markham was summoned to the Crimea, and the post of Adjutant General of the Queen's troops was bestowed upon Havelock, and this appointment, though bestowed by the Horse Guards, was ratified by the tacit approval of every soldier in India.

The manner in which the duties of the Adjutant General's office were exercised by the new official, was eminently characteristic of the man. With all his sympathy with weak and erring humanity, he was yet a stern and strict disciplinarian. It was part of his creed that the discipline of a regiment depended mainly upon the example set by the officers, and that where these were careless in the performance of their duties, the men would be negligent also. Convinced likewise of the importance of impressing a rigid sense of individual responsibility upon all officers, it was his especial care to inform the Commandants of royal regiments, that he held them personally and individually responsible for every breach of discipline that might be committed under their orders. On this point he insisted with a pertinacity that caused him to be regarded in some quarters as a martinet. He was nothing of the sort. Individual responsibility is the soul of military discipline, and it was by insisting on the carrying out of this principle, that the regiments which were in India when the mutiny broke out, had advanced to that high state of efficiency, which enabled them at that period to confront and beat down the countless hosts opposed to them.

Havelock had held this appointment nearly two years when, by direction of the Home Government, war was declared against Persia. An expedition under the command of Sir James Outram was forthwith organized at Bombay, with the design of steaming up the Persian Gulf, occupying the island of Karrack and the town of Busheer, and of carrying out such other ulterior measures as might be deemed necessary. Sir James Outram, when consulted by Lord Elphinstone as to the nomination of his divisional commanders, at once expressed a desire to secure the services of Havelock in that capacity. A telegram was immediately despatched to General Anson with the requisition, and six days later Havelock started for Bombay. But two days before he reached that island, Sir James Outram had embarked, and Havelock did not reach the scene of action until after the first blow had been struck, and the Persian Army hopelessly discouraged by the loss of their camp at Burayjoon, and of the flower of their forces at Kooshab.

Sir James Outram had conceived the idea of bringing the war to a speedy termination by one of those Napoleonic blows, so successful in the Imperial wars—*viz.*, an advance on the enemy's capital. But the experience he had gained of the country, during the march which led to the events just recorded, had demonstrated to him the almost utter impracticability of such a course by land. It appeared however quite feasible to act upon the Euphrates, and seizing a stronghold which commanded its communication with the Gulf, to send up his troops along its course to Ispahan. For this purpose the strongly fortified town of Mohumra was fixed upon, and a division of the army was despatched under Havelock to take it. This service was performed with equal ability and success. Embarking his force, which consisted of nearly five thousand men, of whom one-third were Europeans, upon steamers and flats, he took up a position abreast the works, which each day was making more formidable, and then poured in continual broadsides from his ships of war. In three hours and a half the defences were abandoned by the enemy, and Havelock, instantly landing his troops, took possession of the town. The enemy suffered considerably from the cannonading, but he had so much the start of our troops in his retreat, that it was impossible to follow him up with any effect. Our loss was insignificant. A successful attempt was made three days later to beat up the enemy's quarters at Ahwaz on the Karoon—a place which he evacuated with precipitation on the approach of our troops. All further operations however were put a stop to by the intelligence which reached the camp almost simultaneously with the account of that success, that a treaty of peace between the two nations had been signed at Paris on the 4th March.

On the 15th of the same month, with the prospect before him of resuming the peaceful duties of the Adjutant General's office, Havelock sailed for Bombay. On reaching that place on the 29th however, he learned what he calls "the astounding intelligence" of the first overt act of the promoters of that great convulsion, which, gathering fresh strength as it poured onwards in its rapid course, went so near to overwhelm India. At such a crisis Havelock's place as Adjutant General of the Army was with the Commander-in-Chief. General Anson however was at the time marching on Delhi, and a land journey to that place across Central India, supposed also to be disaffected, was impossible without such an escort as could not be spared. There remained then but one course, and that was to proceed to Calcutta by water, and to place his services at the disposal of the Indian Government. This course Havelock adopted. He remained but two

days in Bombay and on the 1st June embarked on board a steamer, the *Erin*, bound for Calcutta. But he was not destined to reach that city without adventure. On the night of the 5th, when steaming at the rate of eleven knots, the *Erin* ran upon the rocks which girt the island of Ceylon. It seemed at first as though all lives must be lost: the forepart of the vessel filled with water, and for four hours she continued to bump heavily on the rocks: at last however she was driven right on to the reef, and fortunately remained fast. With the dawn of day assistance was available from the shore. The European officials of Ceylon, ever prompt in deeds of charity, had come down to the shore, and, under their directions, a communication was established with the vessel, which resulted in the safe landing of passengers and crew. Havelock, who throughout the trying scene on board had exerted himself to preserve order amongst the sailors, and to keep them from the spirit-cask, immediately invited them to return thanks for their deliverance. To act thus indeed would be the first impulse of a pious mind, but few would have possessed the moral courage to put their theory in practice.

From Caltura, the point on which the *Erin* was wrecked, Havelock proceeded to Galle, and finding there the steamer *Fire Queen* ready to start for Calcutta, he hailed the opportunity thus presented of prosecuting his journey. On reaching Madras however, he learned that an unlooked for occurrence had made Bombay his Head Quarters. General Anson had died on the 26th May, and had been succeeded by the Commander-in-Chief of Bombay, Sir Henry Somerset. Thither it behoved Havelock to repair, and thither he would have proceeded, but for the fact that Sir Patrick Grant, the Commander-in-Chief at Madras, had been summoned to Calcutta, and he, anxious to avail himself of Havelock's experience and abilities, pressed him to waive compliance with the letter of the regulations and to accompany him to Calcutta. To this, after reflection, Havelock acceded, and the two Generals proceeding together landed in Calcutta on the 17th June. Before alluding to the important events which followed the arrival of Havelock in Calcutta, it may not be unprofitable to take a retrospective glance at the occurrences which preceded, and which, in the opinion of the General himself, certainly nurtured the development of the mutiny. We are fortunately able to present, not our own view, but the view which Havelock himself entertained on this important subject. Certainly if any man in India were entitled to give a decisive and categorical opinion on the point, that man was General Havelock. He was in India

when in 1824, the very first appearance of mutiny was evinced by the Native Army, on the occasion of the refusal by the 47th N. I. to proceed to Burmah. The prompt and energetic measures taken by Sir Edward Paget had on that occasion entirely crushed out all vitality from the spark. It is true that after the event, when the feelings which were then no doubt inherent and ready to burst forth had subsided, feeble natures had denounced the measure as one of unnecessary cruelty. It did not appear so to one who was a real soldier, and at the same time one of the most conscientious of men. In military law, in the articles of war with which every soldier, native or European, is acquainted, it is laid down that the punishment for mutiny is Death. To enforce that punishment with stern and rigid impartiality is not only a necessity, but a mercy. It would be impossible to calculate the number of soldiers who have been made helplessly vicious or incurably bad, who have been led on from weakness to crime, by acts of constant and ill-timed lenity on the part of their commanding officer. Among no classes does contagion spread more rapidly. No men have keener instincts regarding the practical ability of those who are placed over them. One offence, passed over with a light punishment in a regiment, is an absolute invitation to a thousand men to commit crime. No men are better aware as to the lengths to which they may go in this respect. With a weak man at their head they quickly degenerate into becoming an armed mob, but a strong man is invariably their master. An officer who has acquainted himself thoroughly with the workings of human nature can do anything with them. And, if this is the case with minor offences, what must it not be with positive crime? If to condone small acts of indiscipline injures the *morale* of a regiment, what will be the effect, if the highest crimes of which a soldier can be guilty, are suffered to pass by with but a light and inadequate punishment? This was a subject upon which Havelock held a very strong opinion. He felt, that in the face of mutinous disposition on the part of soldiers, weakness was synonymous with cruelty. Such a disposition must be crushed in the bud or not at all. He regarded therefore the decimation of the 47th N. I. by 1824, as a merciful and effectual, though a severe, remedy for a crime, which if allowed to run out its course, could only have been suppressed by the outpouring of torrents of human blood. In this view he was confirmed by the events which took place on the occasion of the next ebullition of a mutinous spirit—in 1844. At that period the events of 1824 had been forgotten, a new generation bore arms under the Company, puffed up with the triumphs of Afghanistan, of Gwalior and of Sind. In the

haughtiness of their hearts, deeming themselves the real conquerors of those, before whom, if left to themselves, they could never have stood one hour, some of these men refused to proceed to Bukkur. In an evil hour a policy of pseudo-mercy was resolved upon: the punishment for mutiny, the punishment absolutely necessary to repress mutiny, was sparingly inflicted, and it happened, that whilst the rulers imbibed the notion that an outbreak was amenable to a few fair words, the sepoy regarded the mildness of the punishment inflicted as a confession of their power. Subsequently again under the government of Lord Dalhousie a similar spirit was manifested, and although the vigour and energy displayed by the Commander-in-Chief of the day nipped rebellion in the bud, the general measures of the Government exhibited even a greater tendency to regard mutiny as a crime, not dangerous in itself, and reprehensible only when it ran counter to any settled plan.

Havelock was not the man to allow occurrences of the nature we have noticed to pass before his eyes without the keenest scrutiny. Those who knew him can well imagine, how each in their turn confirmed him in his original opinion as to the wisdom of the plan adopted in the year 1824. During his voyage from Bombay to Calcutta he had had time to take a dispassionate review of the events which had immediately preceded the latest manifestation of Sepoy loyalty. These events had come upon him all in a lump. He heard simultaneously of the simple disbandment of the 19th for mutiny, and of the capture of Delhi by the insurgent sepoys. That he regarded the one event as a necessary corollary of the other is evident from the minute which he recorded upon the occasion. At that dark moment he saw, though others could not, that no Native Infantry regiment could be trusted, that all were implicated in the treason, in heart, if not in act. He then recorded his opinion, as a policy for the future in contra-distinction to that which had been adopted in the past: "there must be no more disbandments for mutiny. Mutineers must be attacked and annihilated; and if they are few in any regiment, and not immediately denounced to be shot or hanged, the whole regiment must be deemed guilty and given up to prompt military execution." He added: "much depends upon prompt action. The time for threats and promises is gone by; the slightest overt act must be followed by the same retribution which in 1824 Sir Edward Paget dealt out to the 47th N. I. thereby putting back mutiny in Bengal eighteen years."

Such were the opinions formed by this Christian soldier as to best mode of dealing with the revolted sepoys. That severity

in the commencement was mercy in the end was his conviction: a contrary system pursued for years had in 1857 reached its climax, and it became necessary to sacrifice the lives of our troops, to spend millions of money, and to entail misery upon thousands to bring affairs back to the *status quo ante* rebellion.

The state of the Bengal Presidency when Havelock arrived in Calcutta may be described briefly as follows. Kept down by the vigor, no less than by the policy, of Sir John Lawrence, and the able men whom he had selected from the two services for employment under him, the Punjab was not only quiet itself, but it had sent the greater part of its European garrison to join the Army before Delhi; it was raising troops from its own bosom to fight against the sepoys; a moveable column had been formed to put down the first appearance of revolt amongst these latter; whilst thanks to the energy of Herbert Edwardes, and to the military spirit which animated Sidney Cotton, Peshawur, till then the most dangerous residence in India, had become the safest; the native allies of the ruler of the Province were arming on our behalf, whilst that ruler himself, prescient as to the future, was in turn advising, exhorting, and imploring those whom he deemed to stand in need of his counsel. In that Province there was but little to fear, because it had a statesman, and not a mere *doctrinaire* at its head. The country between Ferozepore and Loodianah at one extremity, and Meerut and Delhi on the other, was held by our troops. Below however it was different. Central India was in revolt; the Gwalior Contingent in open mutiny, though kept back from open action by the loyalty of the Maharajah. The province of Rohilcund was entirely occupied by insurgents. Oudh, with the exception of its capital Lucknow, was in the same category. The country from Meerut to Allahabad was lost to us for the time, and Allahabad itself, the arsenal of the North West, had been preserved to us, more in consequence of the incapacity of the enemy, than of any forethought on our part. Below Allahabad we had still undisputed possession of the country, although even there, the maintenance of armed sepoy regiments, mutinous at heart, and watching their opportunity, paralysed the action of those gallant English soldiers, whose presence might have averted the catastrophe from other districts.

Of fortified places in the North West, we possessed Agra, the Residency of Lucknow, two barracks at Cawnpore and Allahabad. The great bulk of our troops were employed in the siege of Delhi. There were however a Regiment at Agra, another at Lucknow, two hundred men at Cawnpore, whilst the nucleus of a moveable column destined to act in the North West had just

reached Allahabad under Lieut. Colonel Neill of the Madras Fusiliers. It is to this officer that the credit is due of having first rallied the energies of the handful of men who were maintaining the British authority in the districts that yet remained in our possession. Leaving Calcutta in the month of May with his own Regiment, he had, by the influence inspired by his energy, averted catastrophe from Benares, and restored our *prestige* at Allahabad. At the moment of Havelock's arrival in Calcutta, he was making superhuman exertions to procure carriage and supplies, to facilitate an advance on Cawnpore. In little more than a week he had managed to evoke order out of disorder, disciplined arrangements out of chaos, and stirred up no less by the promptings of an heroic soul than by the accounts which he received of the condition to which the defenders of Cawnpore were being reduced, he fondly hoped that to himself would be allotted the privilege of completing the work he had so well begun, and of planting the British standard on the battlements of Bithoor. He was destined in this respect to be disappointed. Sir P. Grant who had now assumed temporary command of the Bengal Army, had been much struck by a proposition made by Havelock during the passage from Madras to Calcutta to form a moveable column at Allahabad, with which to act in the Central Provinces or in Oudh. Finding then on his arrival, that a nucleus of such a force had been established at Allahabad, Sir Patrick, true to his purpose, pushed up reinforcements to join it, and either ignorant of Neill's merits, or, what is more probable, having unlimited confidence in Havelock, he appointed him to the command of the combined column. It was just the command that Havelock had longed for. For the first time he was entirely his own master, unfettered by orders, and unperplexed by suggestions. He had but one definite object before him—to relieve the sorely-pressed garrison of Cawnpore. To that object every other consideration must necessarily be subordinated. Promptitude, energy, determination—these were to be the watchwords of his undertaking, and certainly no man ever entered upon a difficult enterprise, more firmly resolved to accomplish at any cost the end he had marked out.

Havelock reached Allahabad on the 30th June. The arrangements which Colonel Neill had carried out in the mean time had very much cleared the difficulties in the way of a general advance upon Cawnpore. A column of 400 Europeans, 300 Sikhs and 120 Native Cavalry had been despatched under the command of Major Renaud along the Grand Trunk Road towards that station; one hundred men with two guns had

been placed on board a steamer with instructions to ascend the Ganges and co-operate with the land force, and the country had been heavily indented upon for carriage. These as they came up were instantly pressed into service.

Havelock had, as has already been shewn, felt assured in his own mind, ever since the first great blows struck by the Mutineers, that henceforth no reliance could be placed upon native troops; and as in the difficult operations which he felt to be before him, he knew that it would be absolutely necessary to have at his disposal a body of cavalry upon which he could depend, he had, before his arrival at Allahabad, telegraphed to Government, to be permitted to avail himself of the services of unemployed officers and volunteers for this duty. The application was acceded to, and his first care after arrival was to provide horses and equipments for the corps. So short a time intervened between the announcement of its formation and his actual march, that it did not at the latter period exceed twenty in number. It received nevertheless considerable subsequent additions, and under the command of its gallant leader Major Barrow, performed the most splendid service. His other preparations for an advance were, if possible, hastened by the authentic intelligence which reached him the third day after his arrival of the fate of the Cawnpore garrison. His mind was instantly made up. To retake Cawnpore and inflict signal vengeance on the murderers, was his settled determination. Believing at the same time that the enemy, in the pride of their strength, would endeavour to crush Renaud's column, he sent orders to the latter, who was already near Futtehpore, to halt, and to await his arrival with the main body.

On the afternoon of the 7th July Havelock left Allahabad. His force consisted of about a thousand Europeans, from the 64th and 84th Foot, the 78th Highlanders, Madras Fusiliers, Royal Artillery and Volunteer Cavalry, and nearly two hundred natives. For the first three days he took the ordinary marches to inure the troops gradually to fatigue. On the fourth day, the evening of the 10th, he started from Synee and marched fifteen miles to Khagu, within five miles of Major Renaud's encampment. Through strongly urged to halt here, the news of the advance of the enemy, and the composition of Renaud's force of whom nearly half were Sikhs, whose fidelity had not yet been tried in the field, induced him to resume the advance the same evening. Starting therefore at midnight, he reached Renaud about 1 o'clock in the morning of the 12th, and the combined force marched on fifteen miles to Belinda, a small village only five miles distant from Futtehpore.

Meanwhile the enemy, elated with his victory over women and unarmed men, was marching in force in full hope of overwhelming the small detachment under the command of Renaud. On the morning of the 12th, he approached Futtehpore, and, ignorant of the advance made by our troops during the night, came on in a leisurely disorderly manner, the infantry, artillery and cavalry being all mixed up together. Intelligence of their movements was quickly conveyed to Havelock, who at once ordered his Quarter-Master-General, Colonel Tytler, to proceed to the front to reconnoitre. Colonel Tytler, advancing about two miles with his escort, found the enemy marching through Futtehpore and preparing to encamp on this side of it. No sooner was he perceived, than the enemy's cavalry thinking they saw Renaud before them, dashed at him with their whole force, the infantry and artillery following without any attempt at order or method. Colonel Tytler galloped back with the intelligence to the General, but the guns of the enemy which had meanwhile been brought to the front, gave the first intimation of his movements. The first sound of the cannon served as a signal for our troops to fall in. Though engaged in cooking their breakfasts at the time, and though tired after a march of eighteen miles, they did this with an alacrity which could not be surpassed. The guns, eight in number, were moved to the front, one hundred Enfield riflemen being with them: the infantry were formed in quarter distance columns at deploying distance behind, whilst the Volunteer Horse and Irregular Cavalry guarded the flanks.

These dispositions were scarcely made before the enemy, still advancing in a determined though disorderly manner, came within range. Their guns had already fired two or three ineffective rounds, before the fire on our side opened. No sooner however was the order given to our men, than the rapid advance of the enemy changed its character. The long range of the rifles told with murderous effect on the head of their columns, and Captain Maude, enabled to advance his guns under cover of this fire to point blank range, speedily gave them the *coup-de grace*. They broke at once and retreated to a position in front of the town, abandoning the guns to our victorious troops.

Havelock was not slow to take advantage of this success. Deploying his infantry, he drove the enemy from his new position, and pursued him *helter-skelter* through the town. Guns, ammunition, plunder fell into his possession. Every thing was abandoned, and although a last stand was attempted on the other side of the town, the guns and riflemen succeeded in forcing him to take refuge in a flight, which our exhausted troops were

unable to follow up. Whilst this was going on in the centre, however, the enemy had almost succeeded in turning our flanks. Their Cavalry out-numbering ours considerably came down in great force on our right. Our Irregulars justified Havelock's bad opinion by a display which he characterised as "worse than doubtful." But on this occasion the Europeans were not wanting to themselves. Captain Beatson, the Assistant Adjutant General, who was with the right column of infantry, halted his men, and directing their attention to the enemy's horse, poured in so murderous a volley, that they too hastened to follow their comrades in a precipitate flight.

It was one o'clock before the troops, wearied with thirteen hours combined marching and fighting, reached their encamping ground. They were encouraged however not alone by their victory, but by the spirit-stirring congratulations which their General addressed to them on the occasion. They recognised in those congratulations a different spirit to that for which such documents are usually celebrated. There was a direct appeal to each man's individual exertions, an acknowledgment of the obligation under which the General felt to all, which went directly to their hearts. Those hearts were touched because it was felt that the General spoke to them from his own. From that moment his influence with them was established. They felt they had one at their head who knew how to lead them, and who thoroughly comprehended them. A mutual confidence became established, so absolutely without limit as to contribute more than anything else to make them, as an army, invincible in the field.

On the following day the troops halted. On the 14th, the Irregular Cavalry, on an alarm of the enemy's approach, made as though they would plunder our baggage; they were therefore disarmed and dismounted, and their horses made over to the Volunteer Cavalry. On the 15th, after marching six miles, the General found a strong detachment of the enemy entrenched in the village of Aoung. He at once directed Colonel Tytler to move to the front with about six hundred men, and the guns to drive the enemy from his position, whilst he himself should protect the baggage against the attacks of the large bodies of Cavalry who were threatening him. On this occasion the enemy fought much better than at Futtehpore. He commenced by opening fire upon Colonel Tytler with his guns, and finding that that officer did not at once reply, he moved out of his position to attack him. The Colonel, who had been engaged in completing his dispositions, shewed no disinclination for the combat. Sending the Madras Fusiliers to engage the infantry, he directed a heavy

fire upon the enemy's entrenchment, and in less than two hours had put him completely to flight. The attempts of the Cavalry to turn our flanks were equally abortive. On the same day, whilst the troops were refreshing themselves after their encounter, intelligence reached the General that the enemy had crossed the little river Pandoo, and were preparing to blow up the bridge. He at once felt that success in this point would be fatal to the speedy prosecution of his designs, as with the entire country in the hands of the enemy it would not be possible for him, without immense difficulty and delay, to achieve the passage of that river in the face of a hostile force. Though the hour was mid-day, and the month July, the men were summoned to fall in. They shewed their appreciation of their leader by obeying without a murmur. After marching little more than an hour they suddenly by the bend of the road came in sight of the river, considerably swollen by the rains, and still spanned by a narrow stone bridge. Almost simultaneously the enemy's fire opened, sweeping the road by which our troops must advance. Our dispositions were soon made. The guns were moved to the front, and so arranged as to bring a flanking as well as a direct fire on the enemy's position. Aligned with them again were the Enfield riflemen. Their fire proved most effective. The first discharge from our guns broke the sponge-staffs of their gunners, and having none in reserve they could no longer load their pieces. Their fire therefore ceased as if by magic, and the Madras Fusiliers dashing forward with great gallantry, the rebels, after attempting ineffectually to blow up the bridge, gave way at all points and fled with precipitation towards Cawnpore. The General was unfortunately from want of cavalry unable to pursue them.

Intelligence reached the General during the night that the Nana had taken a strong position in front of Cawnpore with his whole force, and he felt that he had got his hardest battle before him. He well knew however that, humanly speaking, the victory must be with himself. He had met these rebels flushed with their bloody deeds, and deeming themselves the masters of India: he had beaten them whilst indulging in their boastful dreams of conquest, and he did not fear to beat them in their new attitude of rallied fugitives, oppressed with a sense of their own crimes. He sat down therefore that evening, and wrote instructions to General Neill to send up reinforcements, as he intended to advance to Lucknow from Cawnpore. This was no boastful announcement; it was the calm and deliberately expressed intention of a man who had counted the cost and weighed the consequences of the proceedings on which he had determined;

who felt that he had a right to look upon the possession of Cawnpore on the following evening as a certainty, and who regarded that possession but as the prelude to the performance of greater things. With the foresight of a great master of his art he planned all his moves so that they should tend, directly or indirectly, to the accomplishment of a great though still distant end.

On the following morning he marched to fight that which may be considered in every respect as his greatest battle. He could not, from sickness, mortality and other causes, bring into the field more than thirteen hundred men, of whom three hundred were Sikhs. The English portion of the force was animated however by the noblest spirit. Combined with the confidence of victory, there was besides a hope that they might arrive in sufficient time to save their country-women from death. They had twenty-two miles to march, a great battle to fight, the heat of a terrible sun to endure, yet their cheerfulness was never more apparent. They felt that they could accomplish anything that morning. After marching fifteen miles they reached Maharajpore, seven miles distant from Cawnpore. Here they took a breakfast of biscuit and porter, and here the General fell in with two sepoys, faithful to their salt, who gave him important and accurate information regarding the strength and position of the enemy. His artillery had been so laid as to sweep the only road by which he thought it possible we could advance; his right rested on the railway embankment; his centre, which was more retired than the flanks, was immensely strong, whilst his left was covered by the Ganges. His troops were strongly entrenched, and were protected moreover by the nature of the ground which was intersected by numerous ravines. Havelock at once felt that to attack in front a position so strong, defended by five thousand men, with only thirteen hundred, would do no credit to the school in which he had been trained to arms: he thought it possible so to manœuvre as to render the defences which the enemy had prepared almost useless, and at the same time to gain the day without any great sacrifice of life. If he could only interpose between the left flank of the enemy and the river, and seize the high ground on the right bank of the Ganges, he would take the enemy completely in flank, render useless his preparations for a front attack, and compel him to fight, on all points except as regarded mere numbers, on disadvantageous terms. On this flank movement then he resolved.

It was now 2 o'clock: the sun glared fiercely over head, and they were still seven miles distant from Cawnpore, when

the order to advance was given. For three miles they moved steadily on, although many men succumbed to the influence of the terrible sun, and fell to rise no more. They marched in order of battle, the Volunteer Cavalry in advance, the Artillery behind them and the Infantry in the rear. At the commencement of the fourth mile, they came in view of the enemy's position, and the fire of their guns at once convinced Havelock of the accuracy of the information on which he had based his plan. Still the Volunteer Cavalry moved on, drawing upon itself the whole fire, and attracting the sole attention of the enemy. At the same moment the Artillery and Infantry, under cover of a thick grove of trees, diverged to the right. For about half a mile their movement was unperceived. It could not be so much longer. As the heads of the columns emerged into the open, the enemy, discovering the nature of the movement, endeavoured with all haste to change the direction of his fire. Not a gun replied. The point to be reached was the high ground on the right bank of the Ganges, and to attain that, every other consideration was sacrificed. For a quarter of an hour, with sloped arms, exposed to a fire which they did not return, the men marched on till they gained the turning point of the movement: then, wheeling them up into line, with the artillery in the intervals, Havelock led them on to the enemy.

To describe, as they deserve to be described, all the details of the battle that followed, would trespass too much on the space allowed to a single article. We must content ourselves by observing that, having such soldiers under his command, the battle was really gained when the flank-movement was accomplished. It is true that even then, they were little more than one man to five, but considering the opponents, such odds were not unfair. That which Generalship had so successfully commenced, the most determined courage as successfully carried out. Vying with one another in their eagerness to meet the enemy, the troops pressed on with a fury which was not to be withstood. Position after position was taken, one gun after another was captured. The General, in the language of one of the combatants, "seemed to be gifted with ubiquity;" he was seen everywhere animating and inspiring the soldiers, whose last charge, performed under his eyes and in obedience to orders issued by himself, was given with an ardour and impetuosity which were irresistible. Notwithstanding the great efforts of the enemy, and they never fought better, that night beheld the Nana a fugitive from Cawnpore, and the army which was to have won for him empire, a defeated and disorganized rabble.

The political results of the battle of Cawnpore were im-

mense. It gave the first intimation to the rebels of the Central Provinces that the rebellion against the British was not to have a successful termination. The chief conspirator who had proclaimed himself the legitimate inheritor of the dignities of the Peshwa, and who had endeavoured to cement his installation by the indiscriminate slaughter of women and children, had been defeated on his chosen battlefield, and been driven by his terror to take refuge in Oudh. On the spot where the British standard had been treacherously struck down, British troops had in the short space of three weeks and in spite of unheard of difficulties, triumphantly re-established it. Every sign of the reign of the usurper save that at the devastation which he caused, disappeared, as if by magic, and Cawnpore, taken by Havelock and never afterwards lost, was destined to prove the base of many of the most important undertakings for the recovery of British authority. At the moment, its position was strategically most important. Secure of his communications by two routes—the river and the road—with Allahabad, and not threatened from the North, Havelock could operate in Oudh undisturbed as to Cawnpore, so long as the Gwalior Contingent, then fortunately held in check by the Maharaja, should abstain from any movement towards Kalpee. Against isolated attacks he could provide; this alone was like to prove a serious danger.

On the morning of the 17th July he entered Cawnpore. On the 18th he was occupied in making arrangements for the accommodation of the troops, and in deciding the locality of an entrenchment on the Ganges and commanding the communication with Oudh, of such a nature that a small number of troops might be able to hold against any attack. In this way he proposed to make of Cawnpore a secure base for his operations in Oudh. The plateau which he selected was admirably adapted for the purpose. No time was lost in tracing out the plan, and such was the haste employed that, on the arrival of General Neill on the 20th with a reinforcement of upwards of 200 men, the work was sufficiently advanced to be defensible, and Havelock did not hesitate to send the first detachment across the river. Previously to this, on the 19th, he had beaten up Bithoor, and found it empty: the successor of the Peshwas had fled across the river. Rendered more secure by the absence of any immediate apprehension of attack, having too in Neill a man capable of coping with any difficulty whom he could leave in command of the new entrenchment, and urged on by a consideration of the danger of the Lucknow garrison, Havelock resolved to push on his new enterprise with all possible expedition.

Never perhaps before had it been attempted to undertake an enterprise so vast, with means so disproportionate. Not Hannibal when he crossed the Alps, not Alexander when he forced the Granicus, not Frederick when he battled against the combined powers of the Continent, were so utterly overmatched in point of numbers as was Havelock in his expedition into Oudh. Hannibal found allies as well as enemies in his path; Alexander commanded nearly all the resources of Greece, and was opposed by an effeminate people: Frederick fought on the defensive, and won battles with his soldier's legs; but Havelock with only 1500 men went to attack the most warlike people in Hindostan—a province teeming with soldiers many of them trained by our officers, acquainted with our habits and drilled after our fashion. He threw himself upon this province relying upon the courage, the discipline, and the powers of endurance of his soldiers; for they had neither tent nor covering, they were exposed to the extremes of heat and wet, their supplies were precarious and their power of advancing depended entirely upon their ability to cope with difficulties such as seldom fall to the lot of British troops to encounter. It was an enterprise from which, we think, most men would have recoiled. Success could only be accomplished under a combination of circumstances such as no skill could arrange. To advance at the head of fifteen hundred men into a hostile province boasting of its tens of thousands under arms, would seem to partake somewhat of rashness. And yet, though Havelock attempted this very thing, there was no rashness in his enterprise. His chances of success, it is true, were small, but so complete was his knowledge of his soldiers, so perfect was their confidence in him, so thoroughly acquainted was he with the principles of his art, and so well had he calculated every contingency, that, while there remained but one faint hope of ultimate victory opposed to ninety-nine chances of failure, he felt that it was his duty to persevere.

On the 25th July the entire force with which Havelock intended to operate in Oudh had crossed over to the left bank of the Ganges. It consisted of ten guns, imperfectly equipped and manned, the Volunteer Horse reorganised and increased to sixty troopers, and the remnants of the 64th and 84th Regiments, the 78th Highlanders, Madras Fusiliers and Brasyer's Sikhs. Few besides the sick and wounded were left in the entrenchment, but General Neill was there, a host in himself, and being able to avail himself of the reinforcements which were expected to arrive from time to time from Allahabad, this gallant officer gladly accepted the responsibility placed upon him. No one indeed urged more strongly than he upon Havelock the necessi-

ty of taking with him every available man. The little steamer which had been brought up by Lieutenant Spurgin aided materially in the passage of the river, and in the procuring of boats. But for her, the Ganges would have presented very great difficulties at the very outset. The force marched that day the 25th to the village of Mungulwar, five miles on the Lucknow road. Here the General halted in order to complete his dispositions for carriage and supplies. These having been arranged, imperfectly although as fully as was practicable under the circumstances, he moved forward in earnest on the morning of the 29th. After a march of three miles he came in sight of the enemy strongly posted at Oonao. The position he had taken up is thus described by the General in his despatch: "His right was protected by a swamp 'which could neither be forced nor turned; his advance was 'drawn up in a garden enclosure, which in this warlike district 'had purposely or accidentally assumed the form of a bastion. 'The rest of his (advance) force was posted in and behind a village, the houses of which were loopholed. The passage between 'the village and the town of Oonao is narrow. The town itself extended three quarters of a mile to our right. The flooded 'state of the country precluded the possibility of turning in 'this direction. The swamp shut us in on the left." Precluded thus from manœuvring the General could only attack in front. This he did in the manner he had found so successful on the Cawnpore road. Opening with a fire from the Artillery and Enfield riflemen in skirmishing order, he waited until the enemy had been driven from his advanced position and compelled to take refuge in the loopholed houses. The Infantry was then brought to the front and, after a desperate hand to hand conflict, the guns were captured and the enemy driven headlong from the village. The town of Oonao however was still before him, and the enemy was marching in dense columns to occupy it. Havelock therefore drew off his force in line on the ground he had gained between the village and the town, his guns pointing on the high road by which alone he could be attacked, and waited for the enemy's movement to develop itself. At length formed in dense masses they debouched from the town and halted. Havelock felt that he had them. A withering fire from guns and riflemen fell amongst their serried ranks. Unable to deploy they had no choice but to charge home or to retire. The former course would have been opposed to every principle of Asiatic warfare. Whilst however they yet seemed in doubt our skirmishers, wading up to their waists in the marshes, made their presence perceptible on their flanks, and Havelock pushing forward two guns at the same

time gave them sufficient intimation that he was determined to move the only obstacle from his path. They then gave way almost immediately, and fled precipitately, leaving their guns, fifteen in number, in our possession.

The same day, after a rest of three hours during which the men dined, Havelock resumed his advance, and after a march of six miles came upon the enemy strongly entrenched at Busseeruthgunge. This was a walled town situated in the open, and intersected by the high road to Lucknow. In front of it lay a large jheel, which owing to the inundation had all the appearance of a rapid river. In its rear was a still larger jheel, traversed by a narrow causeway. It possessed in addition a wet ditch, and the main gate was defended by an earthwork and four guns, and flanked on either side by loopholed turrets. It was just the position which Havelock could have maintained against the whole army of Oudh. Defended by Asiatics it merely afforded to the English General an opportunity for putting in practice the principles of his art. Having reconnoitred, Havelock deemed it quite practicable to cut off the enemy from the causeway in the rear, whilst he should attack them in front. The 64th were detached on this duty and whilst wading often up to their armpits in the swamp they made a flank movement to the left of the town, Havelock advanced in his old order, against the main gate. Fortunately, the fire of the enemy was high, whilst every shot from ours told. Under its influence the efforts of the enemy gradually slackened, and the Highlanders and Fusiliers rushing forward, forced their way after a sharp struggle at the gateway into the town. If the 64th had been able to reach the position assigned them, the enemy would have been entirely cut off from the causeway. As it was, he was enabled to cross his shattered forces although not without losing a very large number of men.

But these successes, signal as they were, served only to convince the General that, with such a force as that at his disposal, it would be impossible for him to accomplish the great object of his expedition. In three days, what with fighting, sickness, and deaths from disease, his force had been reduced to 1,200 men; he had no means for carrying his sick; he was marching away from his resources whilst the enemy was falling back on his; on his first march of nine miles he had had to fight two pitched battles, and attack two fortified towns, and he was aware that stronger places were before him. On the other hand, he had received intimation from Calcutta that the 5th Fusiliers and 90th Light Infantry were on their way to reinforce him. Every consideration impelled him to suspend any further attempt at an advance

which had become for the moment impracticable. His resolution on this point was confirmed by intelligence which reached him during the night, that the Nana had collected a considerable body of troops and was preparing to act on his rear and cut off his communication with Cawnpore. With a heavy heart then, though convinced of the necessity for the movement, he retired on the following morning to his strong position Mungulwar. From thence he despatched his sick and wounded to Cawnpore, and informed General Neill that to enable him to reach Lucknow it was necessary that he should receive reinforcements of a thousand bayonets and another battery. He also urged the speedy completion of the bridge to connect both banks of the river, a work which he had planned before he set out on his first attempt. Into the causes which acted to delay the arrival of the reinforcements so ardently expected by the General, it is not necessary that we should enter. The disappointment, bitter as it was, only confirmed Havelock in his determination to dare every thing for the relief of the Lucknow garrison. And as the diversion of those two corps, the 5th and 90th, to other employment, seemed to intimate to him that he was to be left to his own resources, he resolved to make with those resources one more effort to rescue his beleaguered countrywomen. On the evening of 4th August then, having about fourteen hundred effective soldiers under his command, he marched for the second time towards Lucknow. They passed through Oonao without attack, but as they approached Busseeruthgunge it became evident that the enemy lay there in force. Unwilling to risk a night action, Havelock moved back to Oonao, bivouacked there, and advanced again the following morning. He found the enemy strongly posted in the position previously described. He resolved to adopt, on a more effective scale, the tactics that had proved so successful before. Leaving the 64th, 84th, the heavier guns and the Cavalry in front, he took the Highlanders, Fusiliers, Sikhs, and Captain Maude's battery to cut off the enemy from the causeway. Before however he could accomplish this, the enemy, seeing his design and dreading to be entrapped, bewildered too by the cannonade in their front, fled precipitately across the causeway. In doing this they came under the fire of the guns of Captain Maude's battery, and were mown down in numbers. They were at the same time vigorously pursued, driven from village to village, until broken and disheartened they found safety in the fatigue of our soldiers.

This victory, however, served to convince the General that he was no more capable of pushing on to Lucknow than he had

been on the first occasion of his advance. Besides the losses from actual fighting, the cholera had broken out in his camp, and was hurrying off its victims in constant succession. The Nana too was approaching his flank and threatened to interrupt his communications. But perhaps the most decisive intelligence of all was conveyed in the account that the Gwalior Contingent had mutinied against their Maharaja, and was moving on Kalpee. This was a position threatening to Cawnpore and menacing our communications with Allahabad. His return became through that fact no longer a matter of consideration; it was a necessity. The General felt that the maintenance of the British prestige depended upon the preservation of his Army, and that its destruction would bring certain ruin on Lucknow. Impelled by these considerations he once more retraced his steps to Mungulwar.

Havelock lay at Mungulwar four or five days recruiting his men, and pushing on the construction of the bridge that was to unite both banks of the river. On the 10th this great work, carried on under many disadvantages, was completed, and the same day, intelligence was sent by General Neill that Bithoor had been occupied in great force by the enemy. Unwilling as he was to leave his position at Mungulwar, Havelock at once recognised the necessity of inflicting a signal blow upon the enemy who had dared to approach so nearly to Cawnpore, and he prepared accordingly to recross the river. Before however he could carry out his resolution, he learned that the Oudh rebels had taken up a strong position between Oonao and Busseeruthgunge. To dislodge them from a position from which they could have attacked him whilst crossing, became an object of imperious necessity.

For the third time therefore Havelock moved towards Busseeruthgunge. He found the enemy very strongly posted between that town and Oonao, and sheltered by earthworks and entrenchments. Covered as before by his artillery and skirmishers Havelock advanced in echelon of battalions from his right. But little impression however was made on the earthen mounds which protected their position. An infantry charge was therefore resolved upon. The 78th Highlanders were brought on to the main road whilst the Fusiliers were moved to the right. These dashing with characteristic ardour on the enemy's left, broke it instantly, and captured all the guns at that point. Our troops instantly turned them on the main body of the enemy, who, surprised and panic-stricken, made but little resistance, but fled headlong through Busseeruthgunge, pursued with untiring energy till beyond the causeway, thus for the third time the scene of their discomfiture.

The effect of this victory was to leave Havelock free to recross to Cawnpore, without any fear of being disturbed during the operation. Accordingly on the 13th he moved his force across the bridge to the point whence he had started nineteen days before on his arduous campaign; during that period he had fought eight fights in all of which he had been eminently successful. In spite of his victories however he had never been able to advance more than ten miles out of the fifty that lay between him and Lucknow. The overpowering numbers and immense resources of the enemy counterbalanced all the efforts of his genius, and he was compelled to feel, after each victory, that at the head of so small a force Lucknow was as distant from him as ever. General Neill, with whom he consulted on the practicability of making any further attempt to reach the beleaguered garrison, expressed his opinion at this time, that unless reinforced it could only terminate in disaster, without the possibility of relieving the garrison, and that it would be injurious to our interests in that part of India. The 14th and 15th were devoted to rest, and to preparations to check the ravages of the cholera which had broken out with extraordinary fury. On the 16th Havelock deemed it absolutely necessary to march against Bithoor. The rebels here, about four thousand in number, consisted of sepoys from the 34th, 42nd, 17th, 28th, and a few of the 31st N. I. with the 2nd Regular and 3rd Irregular Cavalry, and some of the Nana's own retainers with two guns. They were drawn up in front of the castle of Bithoor, their communication with which was maintained by means of a bridge in their rear. Their position was strong, being defended by entrenched quadrangles filled with sepoys, and sheltered by plantations of sugarcane rising high above the head. Two villages, one on either flank and connected by an earthen entrenchment, formed the supports of this position; they were strongly occupied. On this occasion, for the first time, Havelock had the advantage of the enemy in Artillery, and he resolved to endeavour to make them feel his superiority. For twenty minutes he poured in a tremendous fire from the guns and Enfield rifles, our men meanwhile lying down. Finding however that he was making but little impression on the quadrangles, he ordered an advance of infantry covered by the Fusiliers. After a short conflict, in which the 42nd N. I. are said to have crossed bayonets with our men, the enemy evacuated the quadrangles, and retired to his main position between the two villages. Upon this the artillery fire was concentrated, but as here also little impression was made on the earthwork, and the enemy still kept up a galling fire from behind its shelter, recourse was again had to the

bayonet. The rebels awaited the onset of our men with seeming confidence, but no sooner had these reached the parapet, than their hearts failed them, and they gave way in confusion, abandoning Bithoor in their flight. Our men were too exhausted to pursue them; they bivouacked on the ground they had won and on the following morning retraced their steps to Cawnpore. Intelligence greeted the General on his arrival at that station that another officer had been appointed to the command of the column with which he had been so gloriously associated. He received indeed no written communication on the subject. A copy of the *Government Gazette* containing Sir James Outram's appointment announced the bare fact; the reasons he was left to imagine. After all his exertions, his rapid advance from Cawnpore, the heroic efforts to reach Lucknow, his brilliant victories, the confidence with which he had inspired all with whom he had come in contact, the deadly blows which he had dealt the rebel cause, to be simply superseded, seemed hard indeed. But to be superseded without a word, without an acknowledgment of any sort, the announcement first made known by the *Government Gazette*, was ungenerous and cruel. It was impossible to avoid the inference that he was superseded because he had not attained the result which was hoped for by those in power. Whatever the reason might have been, it has never yet been revealed or acknowledged. Mr. Marshman, his biographer and brother-in-law, whilst condemning it as an act inconsiderate, uncalled for and unjust, propounds the idea that it was an accident, the offspring of confusion and error. To the minds of others who had marked how, in that summer and autumn of 1857, success had been made the sole standard of confidence, how even General Lloyd had been maintained and supported at Dinapore because, up to a certain point, he had managed the Sepoys without disarming them, another and a different conclusion appeared only natural.

However that may have been, it cannot be doubted that to the General the first announcement, no less than the manner in which it was made known, was a bitter disappointment. He was not wanting, nevertheless, on this trying occasion, to the principles which had ever guided his course. Havelock the superseded was as active, as daring, as energetic, as full of vigor as when he ruled, the unfettered Commander of an independent force. Never were his great qualities more urgently required on behalf of the public service than after his return from the battle of Bithoor. Out of 1700 Europeans whom he had had altogether from the time of quitting Allahabad under his orders, but 685 remained effective. Not only was he compelled to abandon

all idea of moving into Oudh, but the action of the Gwalior Contingent at Kalpee rendered it doubtful whether he could even maintain Cawnpore. This force consisting of 5,000 men with 30 guns, was already threatening Futtehpoore. To the North, the Nawab of Furruckabad had 30,000 men under him in arms, ready to take advantage of the difficulties which menaced Cawnpore. It was besides, in the power of the rebels in Oudh, freed from the presence of Havelock's force in their own province, to detach any number of men to operate with the Gwalior Contingent, and to cut him off from Allahabad. Of all these difficulties Havelock had the fullest cognizance, yet not one of them disturbed his clear judgment. To remain at Cawnpore, was a very great risk undoubtedly, but to fall back on Allahabad unless in case of the most absolute need, would have been a calamity. Not only should we have lost the prestige and the material advantages gained by Havelock's victories, but it would have united the three then divided bodies against us, and have placed them, with more means at their disposal, in a far stronger position than that from which he had dislodged the Nana. He announced then to the new Commander-in-Chief, Sir Colin Campbell, that if he could hold out hopes of reinforcements, he would in spite of the very threatening aspect of affairs, continue to hold Cawnpore; if not, he must retire upon Allahabad. The reply of Sir Colin entirely reassured him as to the intentions of the Government, and he resolved at all risks to hold his position at Cawnpore. He did so.

Just one month after the battle of Bithoor, the 15th September, Sir James Outram arrived with his reinforcements. With a magnanimity, for which History records no precedent but which places the chief actor on a moral pre-eminence surpassing that even of the stern warriors of republican Rome, Sir James Outram declined to take the command from one who had made efforts so noble and so strenuous, to accomplish the end still remaining before them. Whilst Havelock then kept the command of the force, now increased to 2500 men, Sir James joined it as a Volunteer, and in that capacity, serving with the Volunteer Cavalry, performed deeds of daring which, had he been a Subaltern, would have gained for him the Order of Valour, but which, achieved by Sir James, were considered to partake too much of the character of the man, and to be but a too necessary corollary of past heroism, to need any peculiar distinction.

On the 20th September, Havelock for the last time crossed the Ganges, meeting little more than nominal opposition in the passage. He ascertained however that the enemy held Mungul war in strength. Thither he marched the following morning

drove him out of it, and pursuing him rapidly, not allowing him time to rally, did not halt until he had gained Busseeruthunge, and had seen the enemy in hopeless confusion beyond it. On the following morning, resuming the advance, he passed the Sye without opposition, the enemy having neglected to destroy the bridge. But sixteen miles now lay between him and the Residency. The rapidity of the advance had disconcerted all the plans of the enemy, and compelled him to concentrate his forces hastily on Lucknow. But Havelock had still to push on: between him and garrison lay difficulties which might well have seemed insurmountable, but which he at least had determined to overcome. On the 23rd, a march of ten miles brought the force to within sight of the Alumbagh, covered by an army of 10,000 men. No time was lost in attacking these. Turning their right flank and assisting the movement by a fire from a heavy battery of 24-pounders, he quickly put them into confusion, then launching his cavalry upon them he completed their disorder, and drove them across the Charbagh bridge.

The city alone now lay between him and the Residency, and to determine the plan for surmounting this difficulty, as well as to give rest to the troops, the force halted at the Alumbagh on the 24th. After long consideration it was resolved to cross the Charbagh bridge, and force their way through the intricate streets to the Residency. On the morning of the 25th the troops, full of energy, marched to this desperate work. How this was accomplished, how, by dint of the most daring courage, the most splendid perseverance on the part of the men, and the most indomitable resolution on the part of the General, this, the most thickly peopled city in Asia, crowded with armed men, guarded by its narrow streets, was penetrated and forced by that small band of heroes, we cannot stay to tell. That it was successfully achieved stamps those who planned and who executed the attack as men of no common order. The difficulties to be encountered were even greater than those which staggered for so long a time the French Army before Sarragossa, and which the genius of the Duke of Montebello with much labor surmounted. When one thinks how easily a few determined men might have held that strong position, how a union of courage and discipline would have sufficed under a skilful leader to crush, to utterly overwhelm, the little band that dared that terrible conflict, one feels how impossible it is to admire sufficiently the courage that planned and the resolution that carried to a successful issue, an enterprise in which, regarded simply as a military operation, the unfavorable chances so largely predominated. It was because Havelock was a complete master of the art of war, because he

knew so well, that there are times when great principles even may be safely set aside, because he was capable of judging, and of shaping his opinions accordingly, of the effect of *morale* upon soldiers, that he determined upon, and succeeded in, an enterprise, which, viewed by a distant spectator and regarded only with reference to the disproportion of means to the end, would have been pronounced an impossibility. It is on such an occasion that the true soldier, the man who understands his profession and comprehends the most trifling action even on the part of his fellow men, stands out most brilliantly. Havelock succeeded because he felt that with the force at his disposal, he could accomplish against the force to which he was opposed, any achievement which required but the duration of four and twenty hours to perform. Beyond that period, numbers might overwhelm, but within it, keeping his men in constant action, and not necessitated to halt them for the purpose of food, everything was possible.

At dusk on the 25th Havelock entered the Residency, so long the object of his hopes, at the head of the leading portion of his force. On the following morning Sir James Outram assumed the command, and he subsided into the position of Commandant of Division. It soon became evident to himself as well as to Sir James Outram, that although the relieving force had been able to force itself into Lucknow, it was not strong enough to escort back to Cawnpore the women and children who so long and so nobly had borne the privations attendant upon the siege. It became then necessary to await a further movement from Cawnpore. This was delayed for some weeks to the great detriment of the General's health. So long as he was in the field he had been sustained by the excitement, by the great hopes he cherished, by the constant labour mental, and bodily even, that devolved upon him. But shut up in the Residency, compelled to pass the weary hours of every succeeding day within a narrow limit, certain that relief though coming was yet distant, unsustained by the hope of relieving his countrymen from danger, that reaction in his health set in, which in his tour in Germany he had looked forward to as ultimately certain. As if, too, to take away the last chance of preserving a life that England had only then recognised as so precious, he was unable within the Residency to procure food of the nutritious nature requisite for the support of his system. "We eat" he wrote to his wife "a reduced ration of artillery bullock beef, chupattees and rice, but tea, coffee, sugar, soap, and candles are unknown luxuries." Under such a regimen, and no longer under the healthful influences to which we have referred, he began gradually to lose his former vigor.

The change however was perceptible to few besides himself, and when, after a blockade of two months, on the second and final relief of the garrison by Sir Colin Campbell on the 17th November, Havelock went out to meet him at the Motee Muhal, he was apparently in his accustomed health. Three days later it was known that he was ill with diarrhœa, although the disease had apparently yielded to the remedies applied. On the 21st he became worse, and was moved in a dooly to the Dilkoosha. On the 22nd there was little change; but he expressed a conviction that he would not recover; on that day the dooly being within the range of the enemy's bullets he was removed in it to a more sheltered position. On the 23rd he was worse. The events of that day and the following are thus related by Mr. Marshman. "Havelock was evidently 'worse, and he himself declared his case hopeless. His mind 'was calm and serene, supported by the strength of that Christian hope that had sustained him through life. Relying firmly 'on the merits of the Redeemer, in whom he had trusted with 'unwavering confidence through life, he was enabled to look 'forward to the hour of dissolution with cheerfulness. 'Throughout the day he repeatedly exclaimed: 'I die happy 'and contented.' At one time he called his son to him and said— 'see how a Christian can die.' In the afternoon, Sir James 'Outram came to visit his dying comrade, when he said—"I have 'for forty years so ruled my life, that when death came I might 'face it without fear;" he enjoyed little sleep during the night 'of the 23rd. The next morning he appeared to revive, 'but at eight there was a sudden and fatal change, and at $\frac{1}{2}$ past '9, on the 24th November, he calmly resigned his spirit into the 'hands of his Redeemer in the blessed hope of immortality."

Thus had lived, thus died, Henry Havelock. At the moment when his fame was at the highest, when a grateful country was showering upon him rewards and honors, when in every circle, in every town, in every hamlet of England his name was hailed with the deepest enthusiasm, his pure spirit winged its flight from its tenement of clay. He lived but just long enough to hear that England had appreciated his great services: the full measure of her gratitude he could imagine, but was not destined to enjoy. We ought not perhaps to lament his fate in that particular. He died in the city which he had risked so much and dared so nobly to gain, in the full knowledge that the great object, for which those unsurpassed perils had been encountered, had been fully achieved. He died in the full consciousness that he had done his duty to his God, to his country, and to

himself. As that long rear-guard of tender woman and helpless children defiled out of the Residency, it was impossible that to some amongst them the thought should not have occurred how different, but for Havelock, would have been their destiny. As we examine his career as a General, let us see how he had accomplished such great things. It was that successful advance from Allahabad, those intrepid marches into Oudh, and finally that noble stand at Cawnpore when he had but six hundred men fit for duty, and was threatened on all sides, that had contributed far more than any other movement to that happy result. His bold attitude had paralysed the action of the rebels and had given our Government the time required to collect the resources of the nation. The very daring of his movements caused their success. It was not so much that he marched triumphantly to Cawnpore,—although not every General would have successfully accomplished that movement,—it was his conduct after he arrived there, that showed the real grandeur of his character. His three attempts to penetrate into Oudh are, as military achievements, unequalled in history: he was so over-matched in numbers, that to find the semblance of a parallel the memory travels back to the days of Thermopylæ or to the expedition of Clearchus. But that disparity was certainly not his greatest difficulty. He could not fail to see that a blow successfully executed against his force would be fraught with terrible destruction to British interests. It would involve far more than the loss of his own little army. Cawnpore would in that event have formed the point of junction for the Gwalior Contingent, the Nawab of Furruckabad, and the Oudh insurgents. Their road to Allahabad would have been open, and whether successful or not against that fortress, they would have had it in their power to accomplish enormous mischief, and would have certainly occupied our forces far beyond the time up to which the Lucknow garrison would have been able to hold out. This was a consideration which would assuredly have scared a timid Commander. Its effect upon Havelock was to make him more daring, more determined. His Indian experience had convinced him that the true, the only effectual manner of coping with an Asiatic enemy, was to throw away the scabbard, to seek him out, to impress him with the moral conviction that to beat him was the inevitable result of encountering him in the field. His crossing the Ganges therefore, in the face of a Province armed and ready to oppose him, though seemingly a rash act, was in reality the safest and most prudent course that a General could adopt. Although he could not reach Lucknow, he was yet able to strike such terrible

blows on the rebel force as to ensure himself absolutely against molestation on that side. His profound knowledge of war, and his thorough acquaintance with men, enabled him to do that with safety, which an ordinary mortal would either have not attempted at all, or would have nullified by doubt and hesitation. Every movement of Havelock's was like the well-pronounced incision of a sharp blade; there was no hesitation about him; no hacking bit by bit; but his blow was well armed, well considered, and executed always with a vigour and skill not be surpassed.

But certainly, as much to be admired, and in a military point of view at least as meritorious as his advances into Oudh, was his resolution, when reduced to 600 effective men, not to abandon Cawnpore. He came to this determination when Cawnpore, as a military position, was not tenable. Kalpee itself, and with it the command of the whole line of the *Jumna* thence to Allahabad, was held by the Gwalior Contingent, a compact and well disciplined force of 5,000 men. It was in the power of this Contingent at any time to cut him off from Allahabad, and thus in fact to isolate him entirely. He viewed the chance of any movement of this nature with far more apprehension than he regarded an advance into Oudh, and he seems to have felt strongly more than once that every military reason bound him to retire. His experience convinced him nevertheless that, notwithstanding his false military position, boldness was his soundest policy, and once assured that reinforcements were on their way, he clung to that policy with all the tenacity of his strong character. In this resolution, and his consequent dispositions, he displayed one of the earnest attributes of a General. He shewed how capable he was of using the moral power which his victories had given him in such a manner as to paralyse, with his reduced physical power, the action of three armies, each of which would have attacked him had he given the smallest sign that he feared the encounter.

His conduct in this campaign demonstrated very clearly that he possessed all the higher qualities of a great Commander. A thorough knowledge of the principles of war, improved no less by study in the closet than by practice in Burmah, in Affghanistan, in Persia and in India itself, combined with a profound acquaintance with human nature, to place him in the very first rank of Generals. The one taught him what ought to be done under all circumstances, the other how to make men do it. Thus, though a stern disciplinarian, he could at the same time inspire his soldiers with that devotion for his person that knows no limit. He impressed them with a confidence in his skill and

a belief in his ultimate fortune, that made them bear almost without a murmur that terrible trial to a soldier's temper—a retreat from a victorious field. As a tactician he followed in the footsteps of the great masters of the art. He never attacked in front, when it was possible to gain his end by operating on the flanks. At the same time he would not allow himself to be fettered by the chains of even the soundest general principle. Although he knew well that it was against every rule of warfare to fight a general action with a river in his rear, he deliberately took up that position when he fought the battle of Cawnpore. The great secret in fact of all his movements was his thorough appreciation of the character of his own soldiers, and of the character of his enemy. This knowledge he used alike to modify a general plan of a campaign, or a disposition on the battle field, and it was this that enabled him to attempt more and to accomplish more, than had ever before fallen to the lot of any General, with numbers so disproportionate, to achieve.

If then he was a General of whom his country may boast, still more may the school in which he was trained be proud to place him on her loftiest pedestal. That Indian school which produced a Lawrence, a Clive, and a Coote, which taught even Wellington how to win battles, to which the names of Lake, of Hastings, of Ochterlony, of Napier, of Pollock, of Nott have added fresh lustre, which has gloried in the triumphs of Outram and mourned the untimely death of Nicholson, and which can still point to Chamberlain, to Herbert Edwardes, and to Lumsden as its worthy living representatives, that school, we say, is honored by counting Havelock as a pupil. He lived in it and he was of it. All his feats of war were performed under its banners, and he had grafted its principles on those general maxims which he had imbibed from a study of European warfare. With India then, and with her school of warriors, his name must ever be inseparably connected. With Clive and Wellesley, Napier and Nicholson he stands crowned with the brightest chaplet with which fame can encircle the warrior's brow, whilst from the homes of England cries and tears of gratitude are poured out at the pedestal of the hero, who so worthily maintained his country's honor in the hour of her darkest trial.

More fortunate than most warriors Havelock has found a competent biographer. Mr. Marshman's narrative, which we have followed in this article, is an excellent specimen of what biography should be, and we are not surprised to learn that it has met with so favorable a reception in England. To those, who

desire to look into the inner life of the General, to notice how truly, from his first arrival in the country to the dark hour of his departure, he adhered, in spite of all difficulties, to the *rôle* of the Christian soldier, we commend a perusal of this work. To the military student it gives, at greater length than we have been able to afford, a succinct and stirring account of his various campaigns ; while for the benefit of all it points the moral, that unswerving rectitude of character, though clouded for years by the cold shade of neglect, will, if true to itself and proof against all temptation, inevitably find its reward.
